The Unemployed *Robert W. Dietsch & Tom Nadeau*

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE
SECOND COPY

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts—April 28, 1973, 50 Cents

THE CLEVELAND STATE
UNIVERSITY
APR 24 1973
PERIODICALS DIVISION

The Fox Joins The Hounds

The Editors

Nuclear Power Safety—*Ralph E. Lapp*

Black Films—*Stanley Kauffmann*

An ITT Analogy—*Fred M. Hechinger*

Voice from the Right—*John Osborne*

Back to Bombing—*Stanley Karnow*

NEWSPAPER NEWS
CLEVELAND ST UNIV
LIB SER DEPT
EUCLID-24TH ST
CLEVELAND OHIO
44115

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OCTOBER 12, 1972: Seaman Cleveland Mallory was beaten on the carrier Kitty Hawk.

JANUARY 4, 1973: a Navy court sentenced him to a lifetime of dishonor.

But on February 28, 1973 Cleveland Mallory became an honorable 19-year old kid again. Thanks to prompt and effective legal efforts by the NAACP.

How did young Mallory get into such a mess? He didn't; the mess was thrust upon him.

On October 12th a racial flare-up took place on the Kitty Hawk. Mallory was attending a meeting held by the ship's executive officer. After he left the meeting to go on duty, he had 3 ribs broken when attacked by three sailors. The next morning Mallory reported his assault and injuries to the ship's investigative officer.

Two weeks later he and 24 other black sailors were told they would stand court martial for "riot and assault." They were jailed and, had it not been for fast action by NAACP lawyers, they would have been tried at sea without adequate legal counsel. A letter from NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins to the Secretary of the Navy helped delay the trial until the ship reached San Diego.

At Mallory's trial, 8 witnesses testified they had *not* seen him take part in the racial disorders. A 9th witness said he did. He also said he knew Mallory well, having spent 4 days with him in Hong Kong.

Although it was proven that Mallory had never been to Hong Kong, the testimony of this 1 witness was enough to have Mallory judged guilty and sentenced to a Bad Conduct Discharge, which meant that Mallory would be dishonored for life, be deprived of most of his veteran's rights and be deprived of being hired for many jobs.

Convinced of Mallory's innocence, the NAACP legal staff pursued the investigation even after his trial was over and they were able to get the 9th witness to admit that he had lied in court. That he had not seen Mallory assault anyone. And that he "hated all niggers," although in court he claimed to have no prejudices.

With proof in hand, the NAACP lawyers got an immediate reversal of Mallory's sentence and record. And today, young Mallory is with his family in Pittsburgh earning money to go to college. His future has not been destroyed.

It cost money to bring justice into the life of Cleveland Mallory. Nearly $50,000. Who paid for it? People like you. People who won't stand for injustice and who back their beliefs with money. Over the years the NAACP has defended many Cleveland Mallorys. And we need your help to defend many more in the months and years ahead. Please help us protect the rights of both people and principles by sending a contribution for as little or as much as you can afford to the *NAACP Special Contribution Fund—for emergency legal assistance, Dept KE Box140, New York, New York 10019.*

Your contribution is tax deductible. Thank you.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A NEW PUBLICATION

WorkingPapers
For a New Society

. . . some ideas on where we go from here

We know a lot about what's wrong with America. But we don't know much about how to change it. Or what kind of society we might want to have instead. **Working Papers** reports on efforts to create new institutions and efforts to change existing ones. It offers proposals for new policies and grass-roots politics. It presents images of the good society and plans for the reconstruction of America.

Advisory Board

Gar Alperovitz
Richard Barnet
Noam Chomsky
Harvey Cox
Richard Flacks
Robert Heilbroner
Marcus Raskin

Editors

Mary Jo Bane
John Case
Allen Graubard
Christopher Jencks
Nancy Lyons

Vol. 1, No. 1 Spring 1973

Staughton Lynd:
BLUE-COLLAR ORGANIZING

Lee Rainwater:
ECONOMIC INEQUALITY AND THE CREDIT INCOME TAX

Christopher Jencks:
THE PERILS OF POLLYANNA

Andrew Kopkind:
FIVE COMMUNES IN VERMONT

Also in the first issue: *Controlling a City's Wealth,* by Edward M. Kirshner and James Morey; *The Prison Factory,* by Michel Bosquet; *The New Food Co-ops,* by William Ronco; *Notes from 1999,* by Arthur Waskow

The first issue of **Working Papers** will not be available on the newsstands. Send $1 for a copy or subscribe now.

Working Papers, Dept. 13, 123 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please enter my subscription for:

☐ one year (4 issues, $8) ☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill me

☐ two years (8 issues, $15) ☐ Please send me a sample copy. $1 enclosed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington
April 28, 1973

The Court & the Schools

The Supreme Court announces that property taxes are an unfair way to finance public schools, and that it won't do anything about it. The vote on the *Rodriguez* case March 21 was a hairline 5 to 4 with all four of Mr. Nixon's "strict constructionists" voting in the majority, joined by swing-man Potter Stewart.

Now the Court is going to decide another big school case: whether a new device for using tax money to support parochial schools will be sustained. It heard arguments on this last week, and the nine judges probably know already how they will vote but they won't tell us til their formal judgment in June.

There is no exact definition for "strict constructionist" but, as Mr. Nixon employs it, it means a narrow use of judicial authority, and that is the way his four Court appointees interpret it. They tend to see eye-to-eye, as they did in the landmark *Rodriguez* decision. This was a case of tax unfairness but not, in the interpretation of the majority, of *unconstitutional* tax unfairness.

Most public schools in the United States are sustained by property taxes, and there is a built-in inequality because property values are higher in affluent neighborhoods. For example in the Mexican-American school district of Edgewood, Texas, property values are low and the community would have to tax itself nine times as heavily to obtain the same tax yield as its affluent "Anglo" neighbor, Alamo Heights. A taxpayer named Rodriguez called this unfair and sued. A district court got the case and waited two years for the state legislature to reform the property tax; when it didn't, it ruled that the Rodriguez children were being deprived of a "fundamental" right.

The old liberal Warren Court—the Court that voted unanimously in *Brown vs. Board of Education* that segregated schools are unconstitutional—would almost certainly have held with Rodriguez that education is a "fundamental right" under the constitution. Is there any right more basic for a child—for if he doesn't get an equal education he will find his other rights disappear? But a bold ruling like that would have shaken up public schools all over the country. The five-man majority didn't want to do that. Speaking for them, Justice Powell said, "The consideration and initiation of fundamental reforms with respect to state taxation and education are matters reserved for the legislative processes of the various states." He agreed that "the need is apparent for reform in tax systems." But education, he said, "is not within the limited category of rights recognized by this Court as guaranteed by the Constitution."

In a bitter dissent, Justice Thurgood Marshall for himself and three other Warren Court holdovers said "the Court today decides, in effect, that a state may constitutionally vary the quality of education which it offers its children in accordance with the amount of taxable wealth located in the school districts within which they reside." Or, to put it another way, the poor get rooked again.

It seemed calm and soothing inside the great marble courtroom when we looked in last week to hear the parochial school aid case being argued. Outside, busloads of high school kids were arriving for the annual Easter pilgrimage to Washington. Outside was Congress, and Mr. Nixon, and the Cambodia crisis and the economic crisis and Watergate. Echoes of such conflicts will probably find their way someday into these quiet halls.

Some of the visiting school kids had infiltrated into spectators' seats, awed by the huge size and the columns that went up and up. The big marble Greek temple is really a third house of the legislature. The theory is that the Court works automatically—like a coke machine: that you put in your nickels, pull the lever, and down comes a nonreturnable bottle of law. Actually the Court decides social and political things all the time, and looks around for legal precedents afterward; it is the instrument that adapts old viewpoints to new conditions. What did the Founding Fathers know of school busing, or abortion, or parochial schools? Well, they did say in the First Amendment that Congress should make no law respecting an "establishment" of religion but whether that applies to tax credits for church schools is uncertain.

President Kennedy rejected tax aid to church schools. He had the Catholic vote anyway. George Meany, another Catholic, opposes it. The AFL-CIO executive council at its Florida convention last February reaffirmed opposition to the President's plan to give tax credit to the parents of Catholic and other private school children.

But both presidential candidates in 1972 promised to find ways to provide aid. The political drive is powerful in cynical state legislatures where it is easy to pass measures knowing that the courts will probably strike them down. New York and Pennsylvania have passed new devices—tuition reimbursement and tax credits for private schools—which the high court must consider.

Last August *The New York Times* carried an article reporting that "the Nixon Administration and the Democratic Party are vying for the Roman Catholic vote with a plan for a new form of tax assistance to parochial schools." It said that Representative Carey (D) of Brooklyn, who "devised" the bill, "speaks frankly of the political, as well as the substantive, merits that he sees in it."

Dedicated supporters of church schools have a perfect right, of course, to get political assistance if they can. Since 1965 nonpublic school enrollment has dropped steadily—about 23 percent between then and 1971. Out of about 56 million children in US elementary and secondary schools, some 10 million are in nonpublic schools.

A year ago Mr. Nixon declared that "we must and will" find ways to provide help for nonpublic schools but the legal mechanism, he said, must be "constitutional and so held by the Supreme Court."

So that brings us back to the Court. Here's how the score stands: In 1965 it upheld, 6-3, a New York statute to lend textbooks to nonpublic elementary schools. In 1971 it rejected a Rhode Island teacher salary supplement law as involving "excessive entanglement," and applied the same phrase to another ingenious but rejected tax device from Pennsylvania. And now a new try is being made in the great Greek temple that dwarfs the earnest advocates, pleading to black-robed justices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 168, No. 17, Issue 3042, April 28, 1973. Published 48 times a year and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢; Yearly subscriptions $15; Foreign $18; Armed Forces personnel or students, $10. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department.* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1973 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide.*

Contents

i-10 Comment
The Fox Joins the Hounds, Pentagon Buck-passing, Alaskan Oil, OEO's "Reprieve"

10 The Nixon Watch: Voice from the Right—*John Osborne*

12 The Unemployed—I: When Paychecks Stop—*Robert W. Dietsch*

13 The Unemployed—II: Job Hunting—*Tom Nadeau*

14 ITT: A Nasty Analogy—*Fred M. Hechinger*

15 Mr. Nixon's Return Engagement in Cambodia—*Stanley Karnow*

17 Nuclear Power Safety—1973—*Ralph E. Lapp*

20 Films—*Stanley Kauffmann*

21 Art—*Douglas J. Stewart*

22 Books—Reviews by *Emile Benoit, Babette Deutsch, Dianne Ferriss*

28 Five African Poems—*Chinua Achebe, Kojo Gyinaye Kyei, Oswald Mtshali, Solomon Deressa, Okot p' Bitek*
A review by *John Pauker*

30 Reconsideration: J. D. Salinger—*Robert Coles*

32 TV—*Crawford Woods*

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief—Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor—David Sanford
Literary Editor—Reed Whittemore
Associate Editors—John Osborne, Walter Pincus
Staff Writers—Thomas Geoghegan, Eliot Marshall
Assistant to the Editors—Gwen Somers
Assistant to the Literary Editor—Dianne Ferriss
Contributing Editors:
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Doris Grumbach, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Karnow, Peter J. Ognibene, John Seelye, Melville J. Ulmer, Allen S. Whiting, Paul R. Wieck
Films and Theater—Stanley Kauffmann
West Coast Editor—Peter Barnes
Production Manager—Mary Henninger
Assistant Production Manager—Ellen Cochran Hicks
Publisher—Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager—Elizabeth A. Scanlan
Business Manager—Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Assistant Business Manager—Constance Cole Twining
New Republic Feature Syndicate—Cherryl Holt
Advertising and Promotion—Ilene Briggin Kahane
Receptionist—Ruby McGowan

The Fox Joins The Hounds

This scandal is a whopper, far bigger than the bugging and burglarizing last fall of the Democratic National headquarters by seven men in the employ of the Committee to Re-elect the President. Thanks to aggressive reporting, we are beginning to see the underside of an undercover campaign by the Republicans that involved concealed contributions, payoffs, espionage, sabotage. The Watergate was only one chapter of a long, sordid story. And because political naiveté is not one of his attributes, the President, finally, is responding; he's running scared. He is doing what wily politicians before him have done, though the success of the maneuver has yet to be proved. The fox is joining the hounds; he will lead them if he can! On with the chase!

Let us say right off that we find it improbable if not inconceivable that such veteran campaign advisers as Attorney General John Mitchell, White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman, four of his principal deputies (Dwight Chapin, Hugh Sloan, Jr., Jeb Magruder, Charles Colson), Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans and White House counsel John Dean III never knew, never discussed among themselves some of the uglier tactics being planned and later used to reelect Mr. Nixon. We go further. We find it improbable that a President who boasted he ran his own campaign, this most nitty-gritty of politicians, never had a clue to what was being done on his behalf. Mr. Nixon had told his staff and campaign workers (and they were practically indistinguishable) often enough that nothing could be taken for granted last fall, that no effort was to be spared to rack up the largest possible majority. And they did his bidding, but not, we suspect, without his having at least general knowledge of how they went about it. If he did not on June 17 (the date of the Watergate arrests) know what was going on, he surely made appropriate inquiries on June 18.

The President's initial reaction to the burgeoning affair was to set up an "investigation" by one of the men who himself was part of the scandal, White House counsel John Dean III. It was Mr. Dean who placed one of the convicted Watergate conspirators, G. Gordon Liddy, at the Committee to Re-elect the President. It was Dean who told the FBI he had no knowledge that another of the conspirators, E. Howard Hunt, had an office in the White House, though two days earlier

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dean had removed a safe from Hunt's White House office. When questions about Dean were raised publicly last month, the President from Florida telephoned Dean, on March 26, and later that day Mr. Ziegler was authorized to state: "It is totally false that Mr. Dean had any prior knowledge of the Watergate matter." Nevertheless the President could not have been altogether satisfied with Mr. Dean or the results of his "investigation." For five days earlier, he now says, he had ordered a "new" investigation, this time under the direction of Henry Peterson, head of the criminal division of the Justice Department. The existence of that new investigation was not announced, however, until last week.

When we say this scandal is a whopper, we mean by comparison. Go back to 1952 and the troubles vice presidential candidate Nixon had when the press revealed a secret $18,000 campaign fund that was under Mr. Nixon's control. It was sufficiently damaging, General Eisenhower thought, that Nixon would have to prove himself "clean as a hound's tooth." If he did not do quite that, if instead he recited a story about a dog and a cloth coat and then threw himself sobbing into the arms of Eisenhower, who called him "brave," he did succeed in saving himself. But $18,000? Peanuts. Other political scandals of recent history have been even pettier—a gift of a deep freeze to someone in the White House, or a vicuna coat, or an oriental rug, or a few hotel bills of a presidential aide paid for by some private party.

To appreciate how far Mr. Nixon has pulled back from his earlier refusal to permit anyone on his staff to testify on these touchy matters before a congressional committee, a refusal based upon his notion of the right of executive privilege, one must recall the testimony before a Joint Senate Committee by the President's attorney general, Mr. Kleindienst. On that occasion, April 10, Senator Ervin remarked that he did not think "executive privilege under any circumstances covers wrongdoing." To which Mr. Kleindienst replied, "we disagree on that." Well then, Senator Muskie wondered, was the attorney general contending that the administration could order any one of the 2.5 million federal employees not to appear before a congressional committee for questioning? "I think," Mr. Kleindienst said, "if the President directs me, logically, I would have to say that is correct." Mr. Kleindienst's fundamental position—and on the following day Mr. Ziegler confirmed that he was stating the administration's case—was that our system of separation of powers does not operate in accordance with any rules, however ambiguous or difficult of application, does not call for cooperation in discovering, evolving or applying such rules. It operates by raw power. The President "commands," as the attorney general observed, anything he wants until someone stops him: By cutting off money for needed programs, in other words by stopping the government dead. Or by impeaching the President.

But on what evidence might impeachment proceedings be brought, or be conducted, the attorney general was asked, and subject to what rules? None, he replied: "You do not need facts to impeach the President." Mr. Kleindienst saw the subtleties of shared power in billboard letters, as Victory or Defeat for the administration, not perceiving that Victory so perceived can be Defeat—the antithesis of a conservative attachment to accommodation.

In joining the hounds, the President has deserted his attorney general. He *is* prepared to make an accommodation, because the facts have forced him to do it. Whereas last August 29, the President had said, "categorically that his [Dean's] investigation indicates that no one in the White House, no one in this administration, presently employed, was involved in this very bizarre incident [the Watergate]," and on October 5 that "no member of the White House staff and no man or woman in a position of major responsibility on the Committee for Re-election had anything to do with this kind of reprehensible activity," and again this March 2, that "no one on the White House staff, at the time he [Dean] conducted the investigation . . . was involved or had knowledge of the Watergate matter," Mr. Ziegler last week dismissed all such assertions and denials as now being "inoperative." Now "all government employees and especially White House staff employees are expected fully to cooperate in this matter." They "will appear voluntarily when requested by the committee. They will testify under oath, and they will answer fully all proper questions." Those are the President's most recent instructions.

A heavy burden rests on two men—the chairman of the Select Committee investigating these matters, Senator Sam Ervin, and the committee's chief counsel, Samuel Dash. The President has opened the door, though not all the way, to disclosure, and it is their job to find the right witnesses and ask the right questions about the broader Republican espionage and sabotage operations, of which Watergate was a small part, and about how, when and where campaign money was collected, spent and reported by the Republican organization. The President's retreat last week all but eliminates the dread possibility that Congress might have had to enforce its subpoenas and test the issue of executive privilege in the courts, which is where the President had earlier said he preferred it.

It is too soon to hazard a guess about the ultimate effect of future disclosures on the President's standing or the reputations of many of his closest advisers. But on the evidence to date, we can say that the CIA has had a competitor: a well-financed domestic department of political dirty tricks; and that it had lines into the White House, if it was not run by the White House.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pentagon Buck-passing

One of the Pentagon's best friends on Capitol Hill has always been the House Committee on Armed Services, most of whose members have large defense installations or plants back home. The military got its hardware and the congressional districts got large military payrolls. Lately there's been a slight change. Military employment has dropped with our withdrawal from Vietnam; so while individual pay checks have gotten fatter, fewer people are getting them. (Department of Defense figures show a decline from 3.5 million military and 1.3 million civilians in 1968 to 2.3 million military and 1.0 million civilians this year.) The recent decision to enact former deputy secretary of Defense Packard's proposal to cut back domestic military bases will result in the loss of an additional 26,200 civilian and 16,600 military jobs in the next few years. Even with its budgeted increased in military spending, the administration would find it hard to keep all its defense contractors afloat.

All this is having an effect on the scratch-my-back-I'll-scratch-yours partnership between the Pentagon and the House committee. One sign is the report released last month by the General Accounting Office entitled: "Cost Growth in Major Weapon Systems." Earlier reports have contained similar findings. What sets this March report apart is the way it was presented to Congress. Last July, for instance, GAO simply addressed its report: "To the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives" and distributed it routinely to congressional offices. To surpass this low-key approach one would have had to release the document at night on a holiday weekend. The next GAO report in this series would not have been written but for Rep. Les Aspin (D, Wisc.), a two-term member of the Armed Services Committee. It was compiled at his request and he made it public last November. Aspin had planned to release the next quarterly cost overrun report in February, but GAO dragged its feet, and for a reason that soon became apparent. Last June the committee's chairman, F. Edward Hébert (D, La.), asked GAO to make "its own independent study of the bases of cost escalation in procurement contracts" and to submit its findings to the committee by March 1. Instead of quietly releasing the report, the customary procedure, Hébert had the comptroller general present it to the full committee in open session. To Pentagon-watchers that assumed as much importance as the findings themselves, because Hébert was telling the Pentagon he would no longer allow the subject of cost overruns to be relegated to the obscurity desired by the military —nor, for that matter, would he let a junior member of the committee reap the favorable publicity for exposing military waste.

The Pentagon has never liked the phrase "cost overrun," and last year it prepared a study designed to show that things were not so bad as the crepe-hangers would have it. But the phrase has stuck. It describes the discrepancy between what the Pentagon tells Congress a new weapon will cost prior to production and what the Pentagon expects Congress to pay for it. To illustrate, development estimates for the 45 weapons covered in the March GAO report totaled $93.6 billion, current estimates total $112.7 billion—a $19.1 billion cost overrun. If one calculates this overrun on the basis of the Pentagon's earlier planning estimates, as does Senator Proxmire, the figure is closer to $35 billion—a $31.5 billion difference, plus (by Proxmire's reckoning) an additional $3 to $4 billion in spare parts, modifications and similar costs.

GAO attributes cost overruns to inaccurate estimates by the contractor and the military, inflation and revision of procurement specifications (changes in quantity or engineering). Inaccurate estimates come about, notes the report, because "both the competing contractors and service representatives are strongly motivated—the one to propose and the other to accept low cost estimates—to win the contract and to gain approval against competing systems." This intense competition encourages contractors to make bids which are unrealistically low but which the services nonetheless accept. After work on the new weapon is well along, the contractor begins trying to get more money by such devices as renegotiating the contract and filing "claims" against the government. Gordon Rule, the navy procurement official whose outspokeness before the Joint Economic Committee almost cost him his job (he has since been reinstated), described Grumman's successful bid for the F-14 as a "flagrant buy-in." The company, said Rule, "reduced their bid proposal by $500 million. Oddly enough it is just about $500 million that they say they want now."

Twenty-five percent of the $19.1 billion cost overrun is attributed by the GAO in its report last month to errors in cost estimating and another 30 percent to inflation. The remaining 45 percent is chalked up to changes in the quantity, design or schedule of the new weapons. "Much of this type of cost growth," the report notes, "results from unrealistic performance targets at the outset." Translated, this refers to the fact that most weapons are built to replace existing ones, and the military usually sets higher performance specifications for the new systems. Because the technology to build a new system may still be experimental, the military often winds up buying a concept rather than a weapon. If the concept fails to prove out after development has begun, engineering changes and higher costs inevitably result.

When the Pentagon is faced with steeply rising costs, often the only way it can reduce them is by cutting back the number of weapons ordered. Sometimes these reductions are forthrightly announced; other times they are deceptively packaged. One suspects, for instance, that the navy knew Litton

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Industries would not be able to deliver nine LHA amphibious assault ships on cost and on time, but in 1970 Litton was competing for a new destroyer contract, and to have cut back the LHAs then would have raised doubts about Litton's capability as a shipbuilder. In February 1971 the navy cut the LHA program to five ships, citing overall fleet reductions as the reason, and Litton received $110 million as a "cancellation fee." One unfamiliar with the navy's and Litton's shenanigans on the LHA might be misled by the GAO report into believing the Litton contract was a model of efficiency, because the only figures reported show the program cost estimate has dropped from $1.4 billion to $970 million.

GAO offers its own suggestions for improving defense procurement, as well as summarizing those made in the last three years by presidentially appointed panels, industrial groups and think tanks. The theme running through them can be stated succinctly: the Pentagon keeps asking for too much too fast. The GAO might have added that the Congress too infrequently asks "why" when it is told that we *must* have this or that new weapons program if the United States is to be safe. The GAO does point out that weapons are declared obsolete long before their usefulness runs out, and that replacements are designed to incorporate the latest technological wizardry, which always increases the cost and occasionally the effectiveness. Even though the technology is unproven, the Pentagon expects the contractor to turn his *soft* concept into metal without exceeding the *hard* dollar limits in the contract. Congress in turn is expected to accept on faith most of what it is told; it is kept in the dark about the system's probable price and difficulties until well after large-scale appropriations have been committed to the program. By the time the cost overrun can be calculated, hundreds of millions or billions of tax dollars have become half-completed ships and aircraft. Then, faced with huge and undeniable cost overruns, the military reduces its order.

If Congress is becoming a bit readier to use its power to sharply question and even to withhold appropriations as a bargaining lever, it can compel changes in Pentagon procurement practices. It can insist on candid disclosure of the problems and costs anticipated in the development and production of a proposed weapon. It could also lengthen the entire procurement process so that a complete test of the weapon and its major subsystems would have to be made and evaluated before production money was committed. The military claims to have instituted such a "fly-before-buy" policy, but its present plans for the B-1 bomber call for Congress to make a production decision before the B-1 has proven it can launch its missiles and all structural tests have been completed.

Whether Congress will assert to the full its long-dormant constitutional power "to raise and support armies" remains to be seen. The bellwether could be chairman Hébert and the House Committee on Armed Services. Calling public attention to the GAO report was a good first step, but the report itself will change nothing. GAO was long on analysis but short on data because the Department of Defense denied it access to more complete information. Yet the GAO is an agency of the legislative branch. If the Pentagon can get away with giving Congress data as incomplete and misleading as that in the March GAO report, then the fanfare with which Hébert presented it will, in retrospect, have proven to be nothing more than a public relations stunt. If, however, subsequent GAO reports and congressional investigations, not only of procurement practices but of the rationale for new weapons systems, are marked by greater frankness, they could harbinger the beginning of a serious congressional effort to keep expenditures under control.

Alaskan Oil

The refusal of the US Supreme Court to bail out promoters of the Alaska pipeline has rekindled congressional interest in a trans-Canadian route which would probably terminate in Chicago. Simultaneously it has given supporters of the Alaska route a new sense of urgency in their drive to remove the major obstacle in their way—a seldom-honored provision in the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 which severely restricts the width of rights-of-way for pipelines on public lands.

The ink was hardly dry on the Court's refusal to review an injunction prohibiting Secretary of Interior Rogers C. B. Morton from granting a permit for the pipeline, before Senator Walter F. Mondale (D, Minn.) came up with a plan to take a new look at a trans-Canadian route. He tossed in a bill which calls for negotiations with Canada, plus a nine-month study of "alternative routes" by the director of the National Science Foundation. Mondale would bar Morton from granting any permit during this period and give Congress the right to decide where to authorize rights-of-way on public lands once all the facts are in.

Mondale's proposal is popular in the Midwest, as indicated by his cosponsors hastily assembled (Bayh of Indiana, Stevenson and Percy of Illinois, Nelson of Wisconsin) and of interest in New England (McIntyre of New Hampshire, Stafford of Vermont). He rounds out his list with Majority Leader Mike Mansfield. Its popularity in the Midwest is easy to understand. That area, like New England, has limited access to oil sources and during the cold months of last winter was one of the first to be hit by shortages. A pipeline terminating in Chicago would be welcome.

But supporters of the bid of Alyeska Pipeline Service Co. are moving even faster to clear away the major obstacle with remedial legislation, although industry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

isn't too happy with the price being exacted—Senator Jackson's comprehensive federal rights-of-way bill.

Jackson sees this as an excellent opportunity to get definitive legislation and had his bill in the works long before the Court made it even more urgent. It's not designed to make anyone too happy—the oil industry, which wants a simple repeal of the key provisions in the 1920 act; or the environmentalists, who like some aspects of his bill but don't want to use it as a vehicle to clear the way for a pipeline across Alaska terminating at Valdez, an ice-free port.

Jackson would permanently bar pipelines or transmission lines from the National Park System, National Wildlife Refuge System, lands on the Outer Continental Shelf, and the National Wilderness Preservation System. He wants to set up "utility corridors" on other federal lands, which is causing some in industry to grumble. However after testimony by M. L. Patton, president of Alyeska Pipeline Service Co., the senator rewrote two sections to make them more acceptable. In the first draft, absolute liabilities for harm to third parties regardless of fault was assessed to owners of the pipelines or transmission lines. Patton told Jackson's committee that "liability irrespective of causation or fault and without limitation is unprecedented in the law . . . cannot be insured and this will make it impossible to finance many major projects." This was rewritten to eliminate the "absolute" feature and leave it as simple third-party liability. A $14 million limit was set on liability except in case of negligence or fault.

Some disputed language on the use of the pipelines and transmission lines as common carriers was changed to conform with the present wording of the Mineral Leasing Act (the Interstate Commerce Commission has jurisdiction under this act). Patton objected to the original wording of Jackson's bill because he feared a clause "and other lands" might be construed in such a way as to open all their pipelines to use as common carriers, if even a small portion crossed public land.

Patton and his group are getting nervous about their investment in the Alaska route—some $400,000 in cash outlay for the pipeline itself already and about $1 billion in oil leases and properties. So they like the way Jackson is expediting his bill.

Taking into account the major objectives of the industry, Jackson still has to deal with the environmentalists, which is far more difficult. Wayne Smith, chairman of the Environmental Coalition for North America, will oppose the bill "until Congress itself has inquired into and decided upon the merits of the various routes which have been proposed." He has spoken favorably of a route which would follow the Alcan Highway through Alaska but avoid the Alaska Range and Prince William Sound, where tankers would load up. He also likes a route southeast, to the Mackenzie River and thence on to Edmonton in the province of Alberta, with lines then shooting out to Seattle and Chicago. This route, he believes, would eliminate most of the construction over perma-frost, over the routes of the Caribou and avoid the difficulties of crossing Brooks Range.

While attention is concentrated on Jackson's bill, there's a lot of talk about the sale of large quantities of North Slope oil to Japan. Alyeska bought its pipe from Japan and key Japanese officials have been quoted as saying their country expects to buy some of the oil. A figure as high as one-fourth of the output is rumored. There's already a move among House members, alarmed by reports of coming shortages, to ban the sale of any Alaskan oil to a foreign country.

In the end, nearly everybody may get his way. A House member from an oil-producing state predicts that "eventually, we'll have to build both routes. It's just a question of which one is built first."

OEO's "Reprieve"

Three months ago the President ordered that the Office of Economic Opportunity be shut down and its services spun off to other agencies, leaving the states to pay for the most essential part, "community action." These are known as "local initiative agencies," which learn and teach others how and where to get money from the federal government. Nixon manuevered the shutdown not by legislation nor executive order, but by omitting parts of the OEO package from his budget request. Where once we might have found a column of figures and a request for several hundred million dollars, we found instead a note explaining that federal offices were being shifted around, and that the President would no longer require the money used in other years to finance community action. This was done in the interest of "streamlining the bureaucracy."

Some congressmen protested, but not many. Most were inclined to let the President have his way, partly because OEO is a division of the executive branch, partly because the anti-poverty work it does has fallen out of fashion. Lacking the President's support in recent years, OEO has become bogged down in several local fights and received no help from the White House. Spiro Agnew and Ronald Reagan spoke out against OEO's legal services program, angrily denouncing the government for hiring lawyers who bite the hand that feeds them, taking the federal government to court for neglecting the poor. Agnew and friends couldn't see any point in this kind of self-harassment.

In addition to this antagonism, the OEO has suffered internally from criticism by some of its supporters that anti-poverty work helps the giver more than the receiver. An enormous amount of anti-poverty money does pay for administration, and bureaucrats benefit more visibly than the poor themselves. Sen.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Abraham Ribicoff (D, Conn.) once went so far as to say that perhaps all the poverty workers should be fired and the money thus saved should be sent to the poor. The suggestion wasn't taken seriously.

When the President moved to shut down OEO, Congress didn't try to stop him. Instead it decided to base its stand against impoundment on the executive seizure of some highway funds in Missouri. A case against the impoundment was filed by the state of Missouri, and Congress participated only in that 25 members joined an *amicus curiae* brief against the administration. They won the first appeal on April 2, and unless the case is appealed further the government will have to turn the money loose. Congress didn't join the OEO case, but OEO employees were just as successful when their lawyers then took the government to court. Judge William Jones of the District Court in Washington ruled in their favor April 12, vindicating their claim that the director of the Office of Management and Budget (Roy Ash) and acting director of OEO (Howard Phillips) were manipulating funds illegally when they tried to shut down the office.

Judge Jones didn't give a final reprieve to OEO because he couldn't. His interpretation requires only that OEO be kept going at full steam until present appropriations run out. After that, Congress will decide what is to happen. Congress gave authorization for OEO until 1975 but appropriated funds only up to July 1, 1973. The court decision nullifies some orders Phillips has already given; for example, his request that regional offices use remaining funds for phasing out and mopping up OEO programs now in force. The government must now get this mopping-up money, if there is a mop-up, from another agency like the General Services Administration. The court forbids the firing of personnel merely as part of a phase-out plan and prohibits administrative changes without the approval of Congress. At the same time it allows the program to come to an abrupt halt this June 30 if nothing is done to refinance it. The OEO will not comment yet, but Phillips and Ash risk being cited for contempt of court if they ignore the order.

A staff lawyer for the Senate poverty subcommittee sees the decision as a sound precedent for future arguments against impoundment, but only a temporary cure for OEO's ailments. The community action programs the President wants to drop, make up only one of many federal grants being cut back in the shift from old to new federalism. The staff aide doesn't believe a bill to revive and continue community action could survive if controlled at the local level through special revenue sharing.

Senators Gaylord Nelson(D, Wisc.) and Jacob Javits (R, NY) have introduced a bill (S1559) that fits the need, renewing community action, but in a distinctly Nixon fashion. Their bill combines new appropriations for manpower training and community action but allows states and local governments to decide how the money will be spent. There should be no difficulty getting this through the Senate, but the House may not go along if the President rejects the idea.

In the meantime the Jones ruling gives Congress a chance to work on the OEO-manpower programs, both of which are on the verge of closing. Since the administration is forbidden to phase out OEO without express permission or a new appropriation from Congress, it's even more likely than before that there will have to be a continuing resolution to keep the offices open a while longer. Nelson and Javits intend to use this time to win support for their revenue-sharing bill, and possibly rescue the OEO through the darling device of new federalism.

The Nixon Watch

Voice from the Right

It is altogether fitting that this piece about and derived from *The New Majority*, a small book written for the Girard Bank of Philadelphia and published by it for promotional giveaway to some 30,000 customers and friends, should begin with some of the objective reporting that the author advocates in the course of denouncing "advocacy journalism." The frontispiece is a photograph of President Nixon with the author. This and 16 other photographs in the book were taken by Ollie Atkins, who is identified as "the personal photographer to President Nixon." The President appears in 15 of the 17 pictures. The author's introductory note is printed in the form of a facsimile of White House stationery. It is headed "The White House, Washington," and it is signed in longhand and print, "Patrick J. Buchanan, Special Consultant to the President." Buchanan says in the note that "two gentlemen" from the bank called upon him "in late December of 1972, just prior to the Christmas holidays" and invited him to write the fourth in a series of books published by Girard "as a public service." He doesn't say, but the bank's publicity people do, that he was offered an undisclosed but substantial sum to write it. He wrote it over "the Christmas and New Year's holidays" and assumed when he did that he could properly and legally take the money because the work was done on his own time. After Buchanan delivered the manuscript to the bank, the propriety of his accepting the fee was questioned at the White House and the Justice Department. White House Counsel John Wesley Dean III, who has had such matters as the Watergate and related campaign scandals on his mind of late, and Justice Department lawyers ruled that Buchanan could properly and legally take the bank's money. When he was last heard from on the subject (he was at Harvard, addressing a seminar and out of reach by telephone

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when this report went to press), Buchanan was still trying to decide for himself whether to accept all or part of the fee.

Having absorbed and been chastened by Pat Buchanan's strictures against advocacy journalism, I wouldn't think of stating my opinion. According to the definition of advocacy journalism rendered on page 24 of *The New Majority*, if I did I would be acting "upon the belief that, given the facts, the American people are too ignorant to reach the proper conclusion and must be led there by the hand." This is what Buchanan says the majority of television network reporters and commentators do, and he is against them and it. He is also against journalists who write for print and commit the same sin, especially if their " 'biases and prejudices' are those of political 'liberalism.' " But it's the network reporters and commentators and their bosses who send Buchanan up the wall. His "Mr. Nixon and the Big Media" is the most interesting chapter in an interesting and lively book. It should remove any lingering doubt that the President and the Nixon officials concerned with media affairs believe that they have every right, constitutional and otherwise, to do everything in their power to whip and threaten and drive the offending media into line with the administration's notions of "comprehensiveness in coverage, objectivity in reporting, and balance in commentary."

Buchanan says, and his White House colleagues agree, that he wrote *The New Majority* on his own authority, without formal permission or clearance from the President or anybody else. He couldn't have been very apprehensive when he undertook to do it. He is the Nixon establishment's certified conservative philosopher, one of the last of the few genuine ideologues who entered the White House in 1969 with Mr. Nixon and the more characteristic and essentially uncommitted lawyers, advertising men, professional publicists and kindred pragmatists who dominate the place. Belief in Richard Nixon and whatever he professes to believe at any given moment is the White House norm. The atmosphere has never been really hospitable to true believers in something bigger than the man, whether they were Patrick Moynihan on the liberal left or Arthur Burns on the moderate right, and most of them are gone with Moynihan and Burns. Buchanan, a sometime newspaperman and staff speech writer, survives and thrives as a special consultant to the President and as an assistant without portfolio. He still works on occasional speeches. His principal chore however is just to be there, at the President's beck when he is wanted and in comforting touch with other conservatives who often feel, as Buchanan does, that Mr. Nixon harbors dangerously liberal tendencies that he must be cautioned and guarded against at all times. In *The New Majority*, for instance, there is a faint undertone of anxiety about the President's burgeoning accommodations with Soviet Russia and Communist China, a note of remindful doubt that they can be trusted to keep the disarmament and other agreements that Mr. Nixon has made with them and is trying to broaden. In the main, though, and certainly in his treatment of the media, Pat Buchanan bespeaks the true and controlling Nixon doctrine.

He correctly observes that many journalists acknowledge a predominantly "liberal" bias and counter such criticism as his by asking, "What else is new?" Buchanan answers: "What is new is not the existence of the liberal bias. What is new, in the last decade, is the wedding of that bias to unprecedented power. Men who are taking an increasingly adversary stance toward the social and political values, mores and traditions of the majority of Americans have also achieved monopoly control of the medium of communication upon which 60 percent of these Americans depend as the primary source of news and information about their government and society. And these men are using that monopoly position to persuade the nation to share their distrust of and hostility toward the elected government."

There is the sin in the Nixon-Buchanan book: "hostility toward the elected government." Pat Buchanan has a thing about elections and the elected. He attributes to "many network commentators and correspondents" a "claim to be the people's representatives in Washington" and derides it: "True 'representatives' of the people can be fired or rehired by the people at regular intervals—election time. To whom do the gentlemen of the networks answer, other than some nameless executive, whose principal concern is less the welfare of the nation, than the Nielsen ratings and profit margins?" In the hope that Pat will forgive a bit of advocacy here, I ask in return: to whom does he want them to answer—to incumbent and offended officialdom? He indicates that he doesn't, but my reading of him is that he does. I don't know how else to read the following passage: "Critics should not be distracted by cries of 'repression' and public tears over the 'death of the First Amendment.' Nothing in our Constitution, written or inherent, prevents individuals in government or private life from devising and proposing ways and means to crack this unprecedented concentration of political power, to open up the national airwaves, to guarantee that a broader range of information and opinion is brought before the American people." Buchanan doesn't repeat in explicit terms the suggestion that he once made in a television interview, to the effect that Congress or the executive branch might have to compel the networks by law or regulation to tailor reporting and commentary to the Nixon-Buchanan view of fairness and balance. He recommends, among other things, "a conscious search (by the networks) for newsmen and anchormen and commentators around the nation who feel and share the views and beliefs and the will to investigate and report and comment on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the issues that most concern the American people—and not simply those of greatest interest to its Liberal Establishment." Pondering that dab of uncharacteristically muddy writing, one may doubt that Pat Buchanan has in mind vigorous investigation and reporting of such current issues as reviving inflation and the Republican campaign scandals.

Buchanan, who in person is a bright and sunny sort of man, probably didn't mean to inject into his argument a note that is evident among some of his White House associates. It is a note of sheer envy and it emerges when Buchanan writes: "Not three men in the US Senate enjoy the celebrity status or wield the influence over American opinion of a Cronkite, a Sevareid, a Brinkley. Not even the elected President of the United States enjoys their nightly privilege of untrammeled access for their unchallenged views into twenty million American homes."

Remind me to notify Pat Buchanan when the networks refuse President Nixon access to those twenty million homes, in free prime time.

John Osborne

The Unemployed—I

When Paychecks Stop

Unemployment compensation has been called the "first line of defense against want and poverty," and over the past 38 years it has been an economic stabilizer by giving uncounted millions incomes during times of idleness. Yet public and political interest in it has waned as other aspects of employment security—manpower development and training—got the bulk of attention.

Originally FDR's Committee on Economic Security recommended a benefit of 50 percent or more of weekly wage loss in cases of total unemployment. It was presumed that benefits would cover an idled worker's living costs or nondeferrable expenditures. Under such a benefit formula, a constant proportion of lost purchasing power would be replaced. In the beginning many state laws embodied this wage-loss idea in their benefit programs or schedules; the original state laws set jobless pay maximums high enough so that the 50 percent figure applied to the great majority of covered workers. But in later years this basic wage-loss feature was drastically changed. Maximum payments have not been raised commensurately with wage levels. Instead of being a wage insurance system, unemployment insurance has become a fixed-benefit program for most covered employees. The states balked at extending the jobless pay program to certain types of workers, so that today 16 million workers are not covered. Variations among the state programs are enormous. Some states allow as few as nine weeks' compensation to certain claimants, others give up to 39 weeks under certain conditions. Twenty-four states cover small firms with one or more workers; 24 others cover only firms with four or more workers—the minimum required by federal law. Moreover state legislatures have added many layers of new disqualifications to form what labor leaders rightly call a "massive, harsh and inequitable mosaic of penalties." In many respects, then, the unemployment compensation system was better in the 1930s than it is in the 1970s. In every state except Connecticut, the maximum weekly benefit is smaller relative to wages than it was in 1939. And most states cut off benefits long before many jobless workers can find suitable employment.

Thus President Nixon's request this month that Congress set federal jobless pay standards and extend benefits to 635,000 farm workers is welcome. The President would require states to raise their benefit ceilings to two-thirds of the statewide average weekly wage; about 80 percent of all workers covered would get weekly jobless benefits equal to half their normal wage.

The President's proposal did not go far enough, however. There is no reason unemployment compensation should not be extended to 7.8 million state and local government employees, 2.5 million domestics and 2.3 million employees of nonprofit organizations. And unless the federal government mandates how long a person must be employed before collecting benefits, or how long a jobless worker is entitled to receive benefits, there remains the likelihood that states will rejigger any new federal payout levels to pay more compensation to fewer workers for fewer weeks. Such rejiggering has been going on for years. Not long ago, for example, the state of Washington improved the level of its jobless benefits but revised its qualifying rules to limit those higher payments to fewer people. As a rough rule it seems that if unemployment compensation is to function as originally devised, a person with 26 weeks of employment behind him should collect jobless pay up to 26 weeks, at 50 percent of normal pay.

The President added one highly controversial proposal: he would forbid states to grant unemployment benefits to strikers. Only two states now give such benefits, New York and Rhode Island, and then only after the workers are idled for seven weeks. The trick here is to distinguish between "strikers" and workers "idled by strikes." It might be argued that jobless pay should not go, under any circumstance, to a person who has chosen, as a member of a union or as a person seeking to have his work place unionized, to voluntarily surrender his employment, however long or short. But what about a person kept from his job by an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

employer lockout or a person who strikes because his employer has violated terms of a contract or an agreed-upon arbitration procedure? Should such "strikers" be denied jobless pay? Or what about workers idled because they are indirectly affected by a strike in another plant—a plant supplying needed parts for their own employer? Should they be denied compensation? Many state laws today deny jobless pay to workers idled under such circumstances, and here the laws are unfair and capricious. This issue needs fresh airing by Congress and rather strict federal guidelines for the states.

But this singular issue of jobless pay for "strikers" ought not to delay needed expansion of worker eligibility and payment duration. If unemployment compensation is again to become a first line of defense against poverty, reforms are vital.

Robert W. Dietsch

The Unemployed—II

Job Hunting

Berkeley, California

For over a year I have been looking for a job. I have filled out somewhere in the neighborhood of 150 job applications and have had around 40 interviews. This may sound like a lot, but I don't think people in situations similar to mine would think so. They might even consider my figures conservative.

The jobs for which I applied ranged from semiprofessional (news reporter) to semiskilled (bartender, cab driver). None was upper-level management, nor of a top secret or confidential nature, yet in the course of filling out applications I have been asked my social security number, my wife's maiden name, my mother's maiden name, my starting and ending salary and reason for leaving every job I have held for the last 10 years, my health history, my family's health history, the cause of my maternal grandfather's death, my driver's license number and its expiration date and whether I have ever been charged with a moving violation. Applications have demanded that I divulge whether or not I have been to a psychiatrist and why and how my case was ultimately resolved. I have been asked my father's occupation and approximate income, my hobbies (name at least three), the names of all my superiors during my previous employment, my police record including all arrests and convictions, the disposition of any and all civil cases brought against me, a complete accounting of my assets and liabilities including debts and encumbrances, the number of people living in my household, whether I rent or own my home/apartment, the name and telephone number of my wife's employer and the amount of my wife's salary.

When I applied for a job as a simple layout artist at a large printing and publishing company, I was startled to find on the last page of their eight-page application a loyalty oath which I was required to sign if I wanted an interview. One liquor store chain required my signature on the application to authorize a complete investigation into my credit and character, the entire cost of which was to be borne by me whether I was thereafter employed or not. Of my personal documents, I have been asked to provide a notarized copy of my DD form 214 showing my complete military record and to present photostated copies of all my degrees and diplomas and my complete college transcript. One application required that I get fingerprinted and photographed at my own expense and affix these to the application.

All of this just to get an interview. I have been told by prospective employers or their agents in the form of heads of personnel to cut my hair, let my hair grow, stand up straight, shave my mustache, grow a mustache, join a union, sign a paper saying I would not join a union, that my degree was worthless, that it was unfortunate that I had a degree, that I must supply my own car and that it must be an economy model, that I ought to dress better, that I ought to buy some more "relaxed" clothes, that I was not creative enough, that I was too creative and would probably be bored with the job ("Oh, no, sir, I'd like it, I'm sure"), that I was underqualified, that I was overqualified, that my work history was too diversified, that on the contrary it was not diversified enough. I have been told that I was too hip, too square, that my previous salary was too low, that my salary history indicated I would not be happy with such a low-paying job, that I was unfortunately married and therefore too tied down or, on the other hand, that my wife and I have traveled too much. One drug firm wanted me to beg for a job as a salesman ("How much do you want this job?" "Well, a lot." "How much is a lot?"). Interviewers have asked me to summarize my political views, to write my biography, to describe myself in one sentence and to rate myself according to a chart on my aggressiveness, my determination to please and my loyalty.

From this experience, I have been able to make certain observations. For instance, applications range in length from one to 10 pages and generally speaking, the sleazier the job, the longer and more detailed the application. Sales jobs which are way down there in prestige have the fanciest applications all aglitter with modernistic logos and printed on the best paper. One cab company insisted that I complete that part of their application that asked the name and address of my grammar school and the course of study I undertook there.

Businessmen are taking every advantage of the present job market. Many are working profitable little

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shucks on the side. One security guard service purposefully overhires and insists that new personnel equip themselves with uniforms, a pistol and leather accessories within the first month of employment. These goods can only be purchased from the company supply so that they "match." After all the equipment is obtained, the employee is laid off.

I have made a special study of those classified ads which announce the availability of certain jobs with directions for interested parties to write this ad number such and such. I have responded to about 30 of these, always sending along the requested resumé. Never, not once, have I received any reply, yea or nay. I have however, suddenly appeared on several interesting mailing lists promoting electric dildos or magazines after rushing in my vital statistics.

It is not surprising in these hard times that employers have come to regard people as supplicants rather than applicants, but this inquisitiveness is not only the result of economic exigencies. In a business-oriented administration such as we live under now, in which every appointee seems to have unlimited access to highly personal information concerning the private lives of the citizenry coupled with absolute privacy in his own affairs, it is not strange that businessmen should get the idea that they can do it too.

Tom Nadeau

ITT: A Nasty Analogy

A news report sometimes flashes a light of vague remembrance. Such an occasion was the testimony before the multinational corporations subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. William V. Broe, who in 1970 had been in charge of the Central Intelligence Agency's clandestine operations in Latin America, was being questioned by Senator Frank Church about alleged efforts by the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and other American companies deliberately to create economic instability in Chile in order to abort the election of the Marxist Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens.

This is the exchange that triggered an odd sense of a familiar scene revisited:

Senator Church. Did you discuss with Mr. [Edward J.] Gerrity [senior vice president of ITT] the feasibility of banks not renewing credits or delaying in doing so?
Mr. Broe. Yes, sir.
Senator Church. Did you discuss with Mr. Gerrety the feasibility of companies' dragging their feet in spending money [in Chile] and in making deliveries in shipping spare parts?
Mr. Broe. Yes, I did.
Senator Church. Did you discuss with Mr. Gerrity the feasibility of creating pressure on savings and loan institutions in Chile so that they would have to shut their doors, thereby creating stronger pressure?
Mr. Broe. Yes.

At that point, the remembered scene swam into view. The year was 1948. The place an improvised courtroom in a hamlet not far from Frankfurt, Germany. The defendant in the dock was a conservatively dressed elderly man, who stood accused by a German denazification court of having cooperated with Adolf Hitler's successful assault against the Weimar Republic. The accused, Fritz Thyssen, in those days had controlled a huge slice of Germany's steel industry. He broke with the Nazis in 1939 and tried to escape to Latin America, but was recaptured and sent to a succession of concentration camps.

But the question put to Fritz Thyssen in that makeshift courtroom in 1948 was whether he had been present at a meeting held in 1932 in an exclusive industrialists' club in the Ruhr. It had been a secret but historic gathering. Its purpose was to introduce Hitler to a small group of men—steel and coal magnates and bankers—with a view to preventing the next election from delivering the government into the hands of what the corporate leaders considered dangerous leftists. Although these industrialists detested Hitler as a lower-class upstart, they felt confident that their own political and financial sophistication would easily keep the little corporal under control.

Mr. Thyssen himself disclosed in a nostalgic private conversation between court sessions that he trusted Hitler's pledge that he would restore the old Hohenzollern monarchy and with it the days of law and order and the spirit of disciplined morality—along with economic laissez-faire. Some of Mr. Thyssen's colleagues, however, were undoubtedly more interested in Hitler's promise to smash the unions and launch a profitable rearmament program.

The prosecutor, a pale and earnest man, asked what it was that Hitler had suggested to the captains of industry. "What we need in the next few months," Hitler had said, "is a maximum of confusion." But the creation of such chaos was costly. It required a temporary cut in production. Workers would have to be laid off. The newly unemployed and alienated would swell the Nazi and right-wing ranks. The resulting "left-wing" protests and disruptions were precisely what Hitler needed to unleash his storm troopers.

And what, asked the prosecutor of Mr. Thyssen, did you do when these illegal plans were outlined? "I shook my head," he replied.

The rest is history. The German captains of industry and finance gave Hitler the war chest he needed and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the conditions of chaos necessary to rally those "conservative" forces that would prevent the left from winning the next election. (The court eventually convicted and fined Fritz Thyssen as a "minor Nazi." He died in 1951, leaving his widow an estate of $1 billion.)

These recollections need not suggest that efforts by ITT and other American industrialists to create an economic crisis designed to prevent a leftist victory at the polls in Chile is equivalent to the German industrialists' successful economic manipulations to allow Hitler to smash the left-wing menace—real or imagined—and with it the tottering Weimar Republic. The CIA representative in Chile was not a Hitler. History rarely provides us with perfect parallels. But whatever the differences, the two maneuvers had in common the secret use of economic power—which is quite different from overt political appeals or even from lobbying—to undermine the democratic process, and any such precedent is dangerous. What the managers of huge corporate power sought to do in Chile, they may under different circumstances try in the United States. (Some of the nation's insurance interests came perilously close to such tactics when they warned policyholders before the 1936 elections that a Roosevelt victory would wipe out their nest eggs.)

The government and the people of Chile—and other countries—will draw their own conclusions from these recent disclosures. But the question closer to home is whether Congress and the American people will be somewhat less trusting concerning the role played by corporate oligarchs in the United States as well. When men who control great concentrations of economic power are able to exert undue *hidden* quasi-governmental influence and thus supersede the power of the electorate, it is not enough, as Mr. Thyssen mistakenly thought in his time, to shake one's head.

Fred M. Hechinger

Back to Bombing

Mr. Nixon's Return Engagement in Cambodia

by Stanley Karnow

Richard Nixon's present approach to Cambodia offers some clues to the future shape of his strategy in Indochina—and perhaps in other parts of the world. The thrusts into Cambodia by South Vietnamese and Thai troops, who function with American funds and equipment despite US laws barring their use in such cases, make it plain that he is prepared to deploy surrogate expeditionary forces when and where it suits his purposes. His bombings of Cambodia, along with the airlift of fuel into besieged Pnompenh, more significantly illustrate the extent to which he feels that his authority to undertake military operations abroad is unlimited. Thus his pronouncement of a couple of years ago, that "Cambodia is the Nixon Doctrine in its purest form," now appears to have been prophetic. For, as his current actions suggest, he has no visible intention of disengaging completely from Southeast Asia even though the nature of his commitment to the region has changed within recent months. In short Peace With Honor seems to be a new variation of *Pax Americana*.

There is no doubt that the North Vietnamese are relying on Cambodian sanctuaries as well as the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos to support and supply units whose continued presence in South Vietnam the administration agreed to tolerate. But White House denunciations of Hanoi's build-up through these areas conveniently overlook the fact that the Communists have been desperately striving to match the enormous arsenal given by Mr. Nixon to South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu during the two months prior to the signing of the Paris agreement in late January. Indeed one of Thieu's prime motives for

With this issue Stanley Karnow joins *The New Republic* as a contributing editor. Mr. Karnow previously was diplomatic correspondent for *The Washington Post* and wrote from Asia for the London *Observer*, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Time*. He is the author of *Mao and China: From Revolution to Revolution*. He is also a consultant to NBC News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rejecting the cease-fire proposals presented to him by Henry Kissinger in October was to bargain for crash deliveries of US hardware to swell the stockpile of equipment he already had, and he got what he wanted. An estimated $1 billion worth of American military aid poured into South Vietnam during that period, including 300 helicopters, three squadrons of F5E fighter aircraft, two squadrons of C-130 transport planes, four regiments of M-48 tanks and three new naval vessels in addition to vast quantities of ammunition and spare parts. To maintain the Saigon government's huge arsenal, which can be replaced under the terms of the Paris agreement, the Pentagon recruited some 8000 American contract technicians to work with nearly 1000 Defense Department civilian employees who have been sent to Vietnam within the past six to eight weeks as members of the office of the US military attaché.

The administration's return engagement in Cambodia also disregards the fact that it is involving the United States in a conflict that is, at this stage, essentially a civil war. Most of the 60,000 North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops who once occupied the eastern Cambodian provinces have since moved into Vietnam, leaving groups of indigenous insurgents to carry on the main fight. The insurgents include followers of the deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouk, leftists who trace their origin back to the struggle against the French and assorted other dissidents. Sihanouk, who recently visited the so-called "liberated zone," claims to have united the factions under his banner. But even if his assertion is dubious, several signs clearly indicate that the insurgents have developed into a formidable force—at least in contrast to the corrupt, inept Cambodian army. Their ranks have grown spectacularly, from some 3000 in 1970 to nearly 50,000 now. They are organized into battalions and regiments, and, according to some intelligence accounts, many of their units are operating without the Vietnamese Communist cadres who initially stiffened them. Most significantly, they control all but Cambodia's principal cities and uninhabitable areas. They are making no effort to take the cities and encumber themselves with refugees, who currently represent about one-third of the country's population of six million. As in Vietnam, most of the refugees are victims of B-52s, which are now dropping an average of 1800 tons of bombs a day on Cambodia. The US embassy in Pnompenh directs the bombings, reportedly in rather haphazard fashion since intelligence on enemy deployments is fuzzy.

Another peculiarity of the President's action in Cambodia, as former Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and other legal experts have pointed out, is that it is being pursued without any apparent constitutional basis. Mr. Nixon originally sought to justify his controversial invasion of Cambodia in the spring of 1970 with the contention that it would accelerate the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam by eliminating the Communist sanctuaries. But that argument has obviously lost its relevance, and administration officials have been unable to contrive anything equally plausible. Some have singled out article 20 of the Paris agreement, which enjoins its signatories to respect the 1954 Geneva accords, article seven of which permits the Cambodian government to solicit foreign military aid "for the purpose of the effective defense of the territory." Defense Secretary Elliot Richardson, who should know better, lamely explained the other day that the President's right to bomb "rests on the circumstances that we are coming out of a 10-year period of conflict," and that the administration is trying "to encourage the observance of the Paris agreements by engaging in air action. . . ." Charles Brower, the State Department's action legal adviser, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Richardson had "illuminated the issue." Under questioning by senators still in the dark, Brower could offer little more than the affirmation that Mr. Nixon's position as Commander-in-Chief and Chief Executive gave him "constitutional authority to wind up the war."

The President's free-wheeling conduct in Cambodia has reinforced a number of senators and congressmen to press already introduced legislation to curb his war powers. But nobody seriously believes that he can be effectively checked. The prospect is, therefore, that he will get tougher unless the Communists acceed to his will. He showed this last week by ordering the resumption of bombing in Laos for the first time in nearly two months. According to *New York Times* Pentagon correspondent William Beecher, who is quitting the newspaper to become deputy to Defense Department spokesman Jerry Friedheim, administration planners have outlined a series of escalating options to peak in the renewed bombing of the Hanoi and Haiphong sectors "on a heavy scale but over a limited duration." Thus the President is persuaded that he can tame the Communists whenever he wishes with air strikes because, he believes, his bombings of Hanoi around the turn of the year forced them back to the conference table. His belief in bombing explains why he is going to maintain his armadas of aircraft in Thailand and off the Vietnam coast for some time to come.

One of the curious ironies in the Cambodian situation is that the administration is propping up a regime whose chiefs formerly cooperated with the Communists and fighting against a leader who was trying to reduce Hanoi's influence in Cambodia at the time he was deposed. It was no secret that Lon Nol and other senior Cambodian army officers were supplying the Vietcong in Cambodia with rice, weapons and other merchandise in the days before they ousted Sihanouk. Beginning in the late 1960s, in contrast, Sihanouk worked assiduously to rebuild his relations with the United States in order to protect himself

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against the Vietnamese Communists. He had reopened an American diplomatic mission in Pnompenh, and, while loudly objecting to US raids against Vietcong bases in Cambodia, he covertly provided the Pentagon with the intelligence to hit Communist positions. On the eve of his overthrow in March 1970, Sihanouk chose to go to Moscow and Peking from Paris in the hope that he could urge the Russians and Chinese to persuade the North Vietnamese and Vietcong to evacuate their Cambodian bases and, as he put it at the time, "leave us alone." Lon Nol's coup d'état knocked Sihanouk off his tightrope, and President Nixon's invasion of Cambodia soon afterward dealt a final blow to any chance of Cambodian neutrality. Moreover it turned the entire land into a Communist sanctuary.

A prevailing view inside administration circles at the moment, oddly enough, is that Sihanouk should somehow be brought back to play a role in a Cambodian political settlement. But what kind of settlement can be reached and how it can be achieved remain a mystery, since Sihanouk and Lon Nol are sworn enemies. A negative yet possibly productive avenue might be for the United States simply to pull out of the Cambodian mess completely and allow events to take their course. But Mr. Nixon apparently still is determined to prove that the United States is not a "pitiful, helpless giant," as he asserted as his rationale for invading Cambodia three years ago. His reaction is bombing—which suggests in a larger and more worrisome sense that he has not abandoned his concept of America as an international policeman.

Weighing Benefits and Risks

Nuclear Power Safety—1973

by Ralph E. Lapp

"The public today is absolutely confused," led off Senator John Pastore on January 23 as the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy lifted the curtain on nuclear power safety hearings. Directing his question to James R. Schlesinger, then chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and that afternoon confirmed as CIA director, the Rhode Island Democrat urged that someone "tell the committee categorically that a nuclear reactor is safe or it isn't safe so that the public will know exactly where it stands." Schlesinger, the AEC's most analytically minded chairman, responded: "In my judgment the reactors are very safe. That does not mean that reactors are without risk. We do not have risklessness in our society."

An assessment of the degree of risk seems wrenched out of its proper time-frame, for today some 30 nuclear power plants are operable and last year 35 new plants were ordered with a total capacity of 38 million kilowatts or twice TVA's electric generating power. Before the end of the year the AEC will have given US utilities construction permits for a total of almost 100 reactors. Safely generated nuclear power is an important alternative energy source which promises to ease demand for dwindling resources, e.g., coal, and thus it can dampen somewhat the publicized energy crisis to which President Nixon addressed himself last week.

The utilities are rushing to buy nuclear plants even though they would dearly love to build gas-fired steam boilers to generate electricity, or as a second choice use oil or coal as boiler feed. In Texas where natural gas is close under ground, power companies are going the nuclear route for the simple reason that gas supplies have run low and no utility looks forward to getting an adequate supply. Up north in Illinois, Commonwealth Edison is blazing a nuclear trail even though the chairman of its finance committee, Gordon R. Corey, asserts that "Illinois alone could supply our nation's coal needs for a century or more." Alas the Illinois coal runs three to four percent sulfur on the average and that's incompatible with the Environmental Protection Agency's strict emission control standards. Com Ed knows that it has little chance of buying much oil in the Midwest, so it is number one among utilities in buying nuclear power plants.

Yet even as the nuclear vendors—General Electric, Westinghouse, to name the two giants—pile up 168

Ralph E. Lapp *is the author of* The Logarithmic Century, *which will be published this spring by Prentice-Hall.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

orders for reactors, the ugly question mark of nuclear safety is raised as a public issue. This winter Ralph Nader crossed his atomic rubicon and committed himself to a frontal attack on nuclear power and demanded a "flat-out moratorium" on nuclear plant construction. In doing so Nader joined ranks with the Union of Concerned Scientists, a Boston-based group that has spearheaded a year-long attack on the AEC's position that nuclear reactors are safe to license. Dr. Henry Kendall, an MIT high-energy physicist, targeted the AEC's safety assurances and was the scientific kingpin in a year of public (but little publicized) hearings that became the AEC's technolegal Vietnam.

The safety argument is at once a highly complex and yet a rather simple matter. Stripped of all its technological overwrappings, it amounts to this: a nuclear reactor is essentially a substitute fire-box for the fossil combustion chamber of a conventional steam-electric plant. Instead of a yawning cavern filled with swirling flame, the core of a reactor is a compact maze of uranium-containing fuel rods filled with thimble-size pellets of nuclear fuel. Each tiny pellet of the 7 to 9 million contained in the heart of a reactor generates the power of more than a ton of coal. But unlike coal whose dead ash is shaken out of a boiler's grates, the nuclear fuel stays hot long after a reactor is shut down. Thus there is an "after heat" problem in a reactor core. Should the water that normally is pumped through a core be denied to it, then the fuel might increase in temperature and melt down.

LOCA is the acronym for Loss of Coolant Accident (see "How Safe Are Nuclear Power Plants?" *TNR*, Jan. 23, 1971) that might deny cooling water to a reactor core. Nuclear experts worried about a LOCA during the infancy of the nuclear power era, but as long as the reactors were of fairly low power or even modest power, a melt-down of fuel could be tolerated. In 1966, however, when Consolidated Edison applied for an AEC construction permit for its 873,000 kilowatt Indian Point 2 plant, the ability of plant construction to contain the aftermath of a meltdown was under challenge. What was involved at this point was AEC's rethinking of a reactor accident and stipulating that the largest diameter pipe running from the reactor might fail, rather than smaller pipes as required for previous plants. This new accident specification forced a reconsideration of the effectiveness of emergency core cooling. Despite misgivings the AEC licensed the plant.

The AEC's director of regulation almost simultaneously set up a task force of experts to determine, among other things, "the degree to which core cooling systems could be augmented, by way of design modifications and/or new design concepts, for additional assurance that substantial meltdown is prevented." It should be explained that the consequences of meltdown, as made explicit by the task force report a year later, were potentially horrendous. Meltdown could mean escape of the molten core through the stout-walled pressure vessel and subsequent release of radioactive debris to the environment. Populations downwind of the stricken reactor could be subject to radioactive fallout. The siting of reactors with respect to population was therefore a vexing question.

Since the physical structure of the reactor plant could not be expected to contain the consequences of a core meltdown, the AEC and nuclear industry put their bets on engineered safeguards, primarily emergency core cooling systems (ECCS) designed to pump, spray or flood the reactor core with cooling water. These are huge plants and no one wants to deliberately sacrifice one in order to prove that safety systems will work. The AEC laid out a reactor safety research program in 1967 designed to resolve issues in doubt and to test, on a small scale, the cooling systems. Since then the AEC has spent over $150 million on reactor safety for these plants, but the issue is still unresolved. A key program, a one-seventieth scale LOFT (Loss of Fluid Test) reactor, is still not in operation and may be more than a year from start-up.

Industry itself is confident that the nuclear plants are safe. Vendors point out that no industry was ever forced to meet such tough technical specifications and so scrutinized by a federal agency. For example the Mississippi Power and Light Company's preliminary safety analysis for its twin reactor Grand Gulf plant comprises 10 volumes covering over three feet of shelf space. But the safety of a nuclear plant is not in paper but in hardware and in proper design and operation. And it is here that critics of nuclear power level their criticism.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy sent a letter to the AEC on October 7, 1971 requesting an overall review of the status of reactor safety to serve as a basis for extensive hearings on the subject. The AEC is slated to report out its WASH-1250 document, "The Safety of Nuclear Power Reactors and Related Facilities," next month and then, assuming the report meets the joint committee's standards, a hearing will be scheduled.

Some critics fear that the atomic committee of Congress will arrange the hearings to favor the AEC-nuclear industry viewpoint and they welcome the arrival of Nader on the nuclear scene as a potent protagonist. Illinois Representative Melvin Price is chairman of the committee, and he is a fair-minded legislator who will exercise an even hand in the safety investigation. Senator Stuart Symington (D, Mo.) has told me that he wants both sides of the safety controversy explored. Senator Howard Baker (R, Tenn.) has already given evidence that he is deeply interested in power plant safety. In questioning James Schlesinger on January 23, Baker recalled that a Southern Airways plane, hijacked last November, was involved in a threat to plunge the aircraft into an Oak Ridge

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

facility. Senator Baker's hypothetical accident is just one of the low probability events about which few worried until recently, but now modern technology converts them into high consequence events, especially when powerful reactors are located within 10 miles of a metropolitan population.

It is entirely possible that AEC witnesses will present different assessments of the safety issue and nuclear critics will look critically on the AEC witness list to see if certain experts with known views on reactor safety will be allowed to testify. The Atomic Energy Commission is, by act of Congress, an agency divided in that it is charged with responsibility both to promote and to regulate nuclear power. One of the key issues to be explored by the committee is the extent to which this duality produced dichotomy. Critics have charged that the regulatory arm of the AEC has lacked the muscle to implement an adequate research and development program in reactor safety. In any event the legislators will face highly technical problems and divergent opinions about their solutions. These will have to be discussed in terms of probabilities—how likely or unlikely are certain accidents?—how well will protective safeguards work?—will the plant's stout protective barrier fully contain radioactive debris if the reactor malfunctions?—and ultimately what may be the consequences of such a radioactive release to the environment?

AEC and industry spokesmen stress the excellent safety record of nuclear power plant operation. On March 14 Milton Shaw, the AEC's director of reactor development and technology, including safety research, testified: "We estimate that the operable civilian nuclear power plants have logged over 150 reactor years of operation. In addition over 1000 reactor years of operation have been accumulated by over 120 pressurized water reactors in the military programs." Dr. Thomas O. Paine, GE vice president, points to "the magnificent safety record of commercial nuclear energy" as a rebuttal to Ralph Nader's attack. Praiseworthy as the navy's submarine program is in safety, its reactors are pygmies alongside the utility giants, and the latter have accumulated no meaningful statistics on which to base confidence in nuclear power. Accident-free performance for 150 reactor years means fair confidence that five reactors operated for 30 years would be marginally safe—but that's all. And by the year 2000 there may be 1000 nuclear power plants operating in the United States.

As AEC chairman, Schlesinger was quick to sense that the nuclear safety issue would become his biggest problem. Looking over the AEC's evaluation of the consequences of a reactor accident, he found that these were set forth in a 1957 document. But this analysis postulated a reactor of 500,000 kilowatts thermal power, whereas the AEC was approving new plants of almost eight times greater power. So last year Schlesinger set up a task force of safety experts, headed up by Norman Rasmussen of MIT, to make a wide-ranging "probability-consequences" study of reactor hazards. AEC classifies accidents in terms of their severity, from Class I (trivial) to Class 9 (catastrophic). Utilities are not required to postulate a Class 9 accident in their safety analyses. This is a bone of contention between the AEC and its critics, and recently the Environmental Protection Agency began studying the Class 9 reactor accident.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will have to proceed without the results of the Rasmussen study, since it will not be completed until next year. Presumably this means that the safety hearings will concentrate on the probability of reactor accidents and on the effectiveness of reactor safeguards. The question will be: how safe is safe enough? With 163 nuclear power units operable under construction or design to provide 145 million kilowatts of electric power (equal to all our electric capacity in 1958) and the energy crisis upon us, the debate on nuclear safety is long overdue.

In retrospect one reason the safety issue has been slow in surfacing has been misplaced emphasis on nuclear hazards by the critics of nuclear power. The radiation threat posed by routine operation of nuclear reactors was exploited by highly vocal anti-nuclear spokesmen, and this argument served to focus public attention on an issue of smaller dimensions than that of reactor safety against accidents. But now Nader has joined the anti-nuclear crusade, asserting: "The danger of catastrophic power plant accidents is a public safety problem of the utmost urgency in the country today." Looking back, Nader observes: "It would have been easier to stop nuclear power in 1963 than today, but it is going to be infinitely more difficult 10 years from now when we will have an energy shortage and a radioactive crisis."

Anti-nuclear spokesmen appearing before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy are at a disadvantage since they have limited technical resources and authority and are pitted against a powerful triad—the AEC, industry and the utilities. They will be effective to the extent that they make a solid and rational case and raise the key questions to incise the safety issue. The David-Goliath situation may not faze Nader, who took on the automotive industry, but as one nuclear expert quipped: "A reactor ain't an automobile."

Man and his mechanisms are fallible. Accidents can and do happen despite the most elaborate safeguards. In the nuclear power era where a nation's energy future is involved, there must be a careful weighing of risks and benefits. In setting forth details of the nuclear risk assessment, the nuclear safety hearings in Congress—the first of their kind—will be helping society to arrive at a nuclear judgment, but it will be a perplexed arbiter. Not only is the issue highly complex and technical, it is beset by uncertainties that may not be resolved for some time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

The Mack

(Cinerama)

If you haven't seen one of the spate of black action films that have been pouring out in the last few years, you've missed a significant contemporary experience. If you haven't seen such a film with a predominantly black, predominantly *young* black, audience, you haven't had the whole experience. I don't mean such a film as *The Learning Tree*, which was merely black mimesis of white *Entwicklungsroman*. I don't mean such a film as *Sounder*, which was like *The Corn Is Green*, transposed and adulterated in every way except for Cicely Tyson's performance. I mean the realistic fantasies, mostly in private-eye or crime-story form, which are simultaneously acts of revenge on whites and sublimations of frustration through violence, sex, and getting-rich-quick.

The first of the species, at least the first I can remember, was *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (1970). Then came, and I'm noting only those I have seen, a few among many, *Shaft*, *Super Fly*, and now *The Mack*. There has also been a line of black "horror" films, notably *Blacula*. In one genre or another, there is at least one such film a month.

Most of them seem to make money, and some of them make fortunes. The weekly list of top-grossing films in *Variety* for April 4 has four black films among the first 15. Every such film that I have seen has been a wretched piece of work, but none worse than *The Mack*, recently opened and already a big smash. (Number Five among all pictures in the country, according to that *Variety* list.)

"Mack," I hear, is a West Coast word for pimp, apparently derived from the French slang *mec*. Goldie is a black crook who serves five years in prison and, after release, is steered to Easy Street by a mysterious older adviser in shades. (This character appears subsequently from time to time, just at right moments, and warns Goldie of approaching dangers. I think he's blind and that the author, Robert J. Poole, has read about Teiresias.) Immediately Goldie meets an old girl friend turned tart, who immediately begs him to take her on as ward. Soon he has a string of girls, including the obligatory white girl who is mad about him, and he's rich. He is brutally persecuted by two white detectives who want a cut of his take (in the course of their shenanigans they kill an honest black detective), and the story ends as Goldie's social-revolutionary brother joins him in killings and counterkillings after their mother has been murdered.

The best thing to be said about this script is that it doesn't make any sense. Logic and connective tissue are avoided with a rigor that is awesome. We just see a series of episodes. Who *is* that Teiresias and how does he get his info? How does newcomer Goldie acquire his girls? And *what* is that sequence in which he lays down the law to his assembled girls in a planetarium, while he sits at the controls? The script so patently doesn't try to hold any water that I developed a kind of affection for its sieve-like quality.

But for nothing else. Goldie, the lady-killer, is played by Max Julien, the least attractive male in the picture. The hatred of whites in the film caricatures the truth—and the true basis for black hatred of white oppression—by blaming every single setback that every black character has experienced on racial discrimination; and by making the two white detectives such cartoon heavies that genuine resentment of white vileness is cheapened as badly as anti-Nazi feeling in TV's "Hogan's Heroes." The direction by Michael Campus took me back to the Saturday-afternoon serials of the '20s, except for some symbolic sections which are like the worst musicals of the '30s—for instance, a moment in which Goldie stands in a spotlight looking up and dollar bills rain down on him from above.

The Mack has some strong resemblances to *Super Fly*. In both cases the hero is an outlaw (*Super Fly* was a cocaine pusher); in both cases the outlawry is shown as a triumph over ghetto conditions, the only way the hero could beat white oppression; in both cases there are doffs of the hat to sentimental proprieties—in *Super Fly* to the possibility of revolutionary action, in *The Mack* to Mother and the sanctity of small children. And in both the outlaw role—which is in fact socially damaging to black people themselves—is held up as a model.

Or certainly is taken as such by the audience of blacks, who are mostly young. That audience in effect *completes* the film; to see it otherwise is to see it incomplete. No audience of slum kids in the '30s cheered more loudly when gangsters machine-gunned cops than these black youths cheer—first, predictably, when whites are bested, but even more strongly when black heroes triumph over *circumstances*. At the first appearance of Goldie in his

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

Cabaret. Slick musical, remotely connected with Isherwood's *Berlin Stories*. Michael York better than Liza Minnelli, which is one of the things wrong with the film. But Bob Fosse directs smartly.

The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie. Luis Buñuel, seventy-something and something to marvel at, plays slyly with middle-class corruption.

The Emigrants. Jan Troell photographed and directed, Max von Sydow and Liv Ullmann perform, one of the best chronicle films—about 19th-century Swedes coming to the US.

Jeremiah Johnson. Robert Redford as a Rocky Mountain trapper 130 years ago. Space, rigor, life-style.

Love. Lili Darvas is exquisite as a 96-year-old in this delicate, nearly perfect Hungarian film about the effect on one family of a police state and some things it can't affect.

Painters Painting. Rebuked for not telling *everything* about US painting, this documentary nevertheless tells a fascinating lot in interviews with 13 artists and others.

Payday. The last 36 hours in the life of a country-music star, played pungently by Rip Torn. Pleasantly different from some recent pretentiousness, it's more serious than it seems.

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Douglas J. Stewart on art

Two Cheers for the Tombaroli

Florence

The long war among governments, museums, collectors, art thieves, archaeologists and the Catholic church is changing character. The scandal surrounding the Metropolitan Museum's "new" Euphronius vase is not so much the cause as the symptom of the new level of fighting. Italy is the central theater of that war, and it is toward Italy that most of the exaggerated demands and denunciations are issued. A March 26 *Time* story made it sound as though the grave robbers, *tombaroli*, and their anonymous patrons, the collectors, are ahead of everyone else on points, with the battle going into its last stages. Is the situation that bad—or, more pertinently, are scare tactics likely to make things better, such as *Time*'s half-serious suggestion last year that Italy be put under some sort of international trusteeship in order to protect the art treasures that she "obviously" can't protect herself?

No, and for a number of commonsense reasons. First, Italy takes rather good care of its above-ground and already classified objects, whether by "Italy" one means the national government or various subgovernmental agencies. Much of Italy's treasure is not under control of the state, but of private or municipal museums or of the churches. The latter is a special case, to be discussed below, but private and municipal museums are, if my sampling has been representative, a little better than all but the most prestigious state museums. Likewise, exterior sites, already exploited and studied, are usually guarded adequately. So the big problems occur (leaving aside Venice) only with two categories of treasure: as yet unexploited archaeological sites, and churches.

Art thieves every year steal an enormous number of unguarded paintings from churches, usually of middle-level importance, while *tombaroli* regularly loot Etruscan graves of desirable art and artifacts, usually Greek in origin, like the Euphronius vase. The fact that these two classes of thief seem so hard to discourage should not lead anyone to hasty conclusions, however, either about the intelligence of the government or the character of Italians.

Thieves who steal from churches are hardly in a class with *tombaroli*. It takes little skill and involves even less danger to steal a painting from many an Italian church. *Tombaroli* work hard at their trade, lay claim to considerable archaeological skills of their own, and face a good deal of danger. (I can testify to the latter, having naively entered a lot of Etruscan sites unguided and then found myself in considerable discomfort, if not positive danger, getting out again.) The latter, moreover, aren't necessarily destructive, ruining the entire *situs* of a grave for the recovery of one or two salable items. Many *tombaroli* truly love what they find, and keep back for their private delectation more than they sell. In any case, Italian public opinion, forgetting the government's official position on "national" art treasures, is remarkably lenient in its attitude toward thieves and *tombaroli* alike, and the reasons are not hard to find. Italians love their art treasures, but are discouraged because acres of medieval and renaissance paintings and frescoes are mouldering away on the walls of churches with no one to care for them, and hundreds of archaeological sites go unexploited because of both the limited supply of "qualified" archaeologists, and government red tape in granting permits for new expeditions (though Italy is the soul of hospitality compared to Greece). Church robbers reasonably argue that the paintings they steal end up in the hands of people far more ready and able to care for them than the church, while the *tombaroli* assert that an archaeological site isn't a site until someone discovers it, and that they are far better—and what's more, quicker—at it than professionals.

The central fact, however, is the one universally ignored. That fact is Italy. There is scarcely a rural farmhouse that does not own a piece or two of ancient sculpture or metalwork, and whose owner cannot find more. Scarcely a village which does not include a building or two with at least romanesque foundations, plus a church or two with important paintings or frescoes. What the world of collectors, museums and universities seems to misunderstand is the Italian attitude toward its art treasures, an attitude best shown in an article recently published in *La Nazione* by the chief engineer of the city of Florence. Deploring the fact that a wayside shrine with a fresco by a student of Giotto's had been allowed to pass through several private owners' hands while rotting in wind and rain, the author ended with a passionate plea *Per piacere, rubatelo,*

Grave Robbing

Viterbo

"Two Etruscan tombs dating from the 6th Century B.C. were discovered, one at Capodimonte in the necropolis called 'Buccace,' and the other at Piansano in the district of Pidocchio. The discovery at Capodimonte was made by the Carabinieri who came upon some clandestine excavators and put them to flight. They had already broken into the tomb. Inside were found numerous objects including fragments of bronze and fine-clay vessels. The tomb has a decorated entrance and the vault had been given expensive elaboration. A sarcophagus bearing an Etruscan inscription was also found."—*La Nazione*, March 28

Grosseto

"It has just been learned that what is called 'Foxhunter's Wood,' a huge area of thick forest (in the township of Magliano) has a hidden Etruscan burial ground of enormous proportions. Unfortunately, grave robbers have already violated more than 120 of the tombs. Some appear to have been plundered some time past, perhaps many years ago. The tombs appear to be of the type discovered at Sant'Andrea and Santa Maria in Borraccia, also in the district of Magliano, with one or two rooms carved in the chalky limestone, some far below the level of vegetation and with a rather narrow entrance . . . Some of the tombs seem to have been violated recently, some within only a few hours, from the fresh traces left by the robbers."—*La Nazione*, April 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Please, someone steal it!" Like the real mother in the story of Solomon's wisdom, Italians, I'm convinced, love their treasures, but not to the point of wanting to see them ruined.

If there is a serious international will to do something about depredations of art, rifling of archaeological sites and general deterioration, it could be done by developing an international subscription fund, which could be made available to Italy for various clearly stated purposes: adequate patroling of exposed sites like the Roman Forum; the acquisition and restoration of art works going to pieces in churches; guarding those which can't be moved. And finally, for enlisting *tombaroli* on the side of history and enlightenment, by bidding for their services at prices higher than they receive from the black market at their end of the smuggling chain, which are not all that high.

The last idea might seem like making crime pay well. But we already know how well crime pays the higher-ups, who lack their skills. Why not harness them to legitimate searches; hire them to look for everything they can find, and pay a good bonus for every site they uncover, letting them help exploit the site in cooperation with archaeologists, and then splitting the take between them and the government on all objects deemed salable and unnecessary for retention in Italy for further historical study or for the "national treasure." Depredations will not stop until collectors and museums are effectively frozen out of the primary market for archaeological materials and are forced to bid in open competition for all objects passed through, say, an Italo-UN clearing house.

Striking at the problem this way would also do something about the huge forgeries industry. Chaos in the traffic of ancient artifacts has encouraged this parasitical growth, which if anything is worse than grave robbing itself. If it were understood that the market in genuine articles was restricted, the forgery industry would dry up.

Full Employment Policy Revisited

Essays on Full Employment 1942-1972

by John H. G. Pierson

(Scarecrow Press, 52 Liberty Street, Metuchen, NJ 08840; $10)

John Pierson is the real pioneer of the concept of guaranteed full employment. His first book on the subject was published in 1941 (*Full Employment*, Yale University Press), and he has been thinking and writing about it ever since. The last essay here reprinted is as recent as May 1972.

Pierson's postwar planning work in the US Department of Labor during the 1940s contributed to the full employment bill which was finally passed as the Employment Act of 1946, but that act, valuable as it was, fell far short of his aspirations. He wanted "full" not merely "maximum" employment: real jobs for all who wanted them and were able to do them—except for a small margin of truly unavoidable frictional unemployment. Most of all he wanted it "*guaranteed*" by definite government commitments. The guarantee feature by stabilizing expectations would contribute greatly (like a self-fulfilling prophecy) to achieving the goals. It would help avoid the perpetual swings between excessive and deficient rates of investment consumption, with excessive wage pressure and price boosts in periods of recovery and boom.

What sort of government "commitments" would be required? First, an underwriting of the necessary rate of consumer spending, which together with the government's own planned expenditure and the anticipated associated amount of investment and foreign trade was expected to create the targeted number of jobs; second, a subsidiary government guarantee to supply additional useful short-term public jobs to the extent that *despite* the adequacy of consumer spending there was nevertheless an unanticipated shortfall of jobs. He always emphasized that the second guarantee (of government "last resort" employment) would never be acceptable in a private enterprise system without the first (an assured adequate level of consumer spending). He feared that without the guarantee of adequate private spending, an open-ended commitment to offset a shortfall in private jobs with public jobs would appear to threaten to supplant private with public enterprise. He had seen in the Great Depression how this anxiety could limit the extent of recovery, despite energetic measures by government to supply additional jobs in the public sector.

How could a credible guarantee be given that consumer expenditure would reach the required and foreseen targets? This is Pierson's most original and daring concept. He proposed to do this by having highly flexible withholding taxes which could readily be reduced (or flexible transfer payments which could be increased) to whatever extent necessary whenever consumer spending began to run short of the level underwritten. (He suggested this idea before withholding taxes were proposed to the US Treasury by Beardsley Ruml and adopted in the 1940s. Pierson even proposed—long before Professor Friedman—the concept of a "negative income tax" as a possible additional income supplement for those normally paying little or no income taxes, so that compensatory tax reductions could apply to them too!) This flexible tax could also serve, he noted, as an anti-inflation tax, by raising withholding rates when consumer expenditure threatened to exceed the underwritten amount. (Today, with the computer, all this would be much easier to do.)

Pierson recognized, of course, that exact control of the level of consumer expenditure would be complicated by changes in the rate of personal saving. But he noted that except during very abnormal times (*e.g.*, the Great Depression and World War II) there is a considerable degree of stability in the ratio of consumption to disposable income. Thus there would be only slight variations in the amount of tax cut required to produce a required amount of expansion in expenditure—particularly if substantial amounts of the tax cuts went to low-income recipients through the negative income tax. Since con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sumer expenditure normally accounts for over 60 percent of GNP in this country, stabilizing consumer expenditure would help greatly to stabilize investment. Thus the amount of unforeseeable variation in employment that would have to be made good by compensatory employment programs would always be limited and manageable.

All this differs somewhat from "fine tuning"—with its gross risks of oversteering—as sometimes advocated by Walter Heller and others. In Pierson's program government intervention would not depend on *forecasts*—which have often proved unreliable—but upon observed indices of actual performance and how close they came to previously established monthly and quarterly goals. Moreover the Congress would have to set periodically employment and purchasing power goals, and would have to be willing to provide the administration (or a mixed congressional-executive committee) with strong discretionary tools, particularly the power (under certain agreed conditions) to make frequent and substantial changes in tax withholding rates within predetermined limits, and to expand or contract employment on already approved and authorized public projects. Lacking such tools, past efforts to maintain full employment inevitably had to fail.

Pierson did not presuppose any particular set or mix of monetary-fiscal policies, anti-monopoly policies, redistributionist policies or other substantive measures to achieve a better basic balance and enhanced welfare. His sympathies are, of course, with liberal measures in all these fields, but his full employment program is designed to achieve the employment objective whatever the substantive policies adopted. At the most, applying his full employment measures might highlight the need for changes in other policies, by showing that without such changes larger compensatory adjustments were required than seemed desirable.

There are two interesting questions to ask about Pierson's proposed program: 1) would it work? and 2) why hasn't it been tried? I think the answer to the first is pretty clearly, "yes." The Pierson program is so constructed that it is bound to achieve full employment, though conceivably the costs of getting it or the undesired side-effects might be greater than can now be foreseen. But it has been carefully engineered, and it is flexible enough to allow for many possible contingencies.

As to why it hasn't been tried, there

THE RALPH NADER CONGRESS PROJECT

Who's Who in CONGRESS?

To find out order the **Ralph Nader Congress Project Profiles:** 20-40 page magazine size studies on each member of the 93rd Congress (*except* those first elected in November). Arm yourself with the facts on voting records, campaign finances, personal and political biography, much more.

To order—list the *names* of the Senators and Representatives whose Profiles you wish—use additional sheets if necessary.

Profiles cost $1.00 for each title. 50 or more of the *same* Profile, 50¢ each. Complete Set $450—Write for details.

Mail to: **Grossman Publishers,** P.O. Box 19281-N, Washington, D. C. 20036.

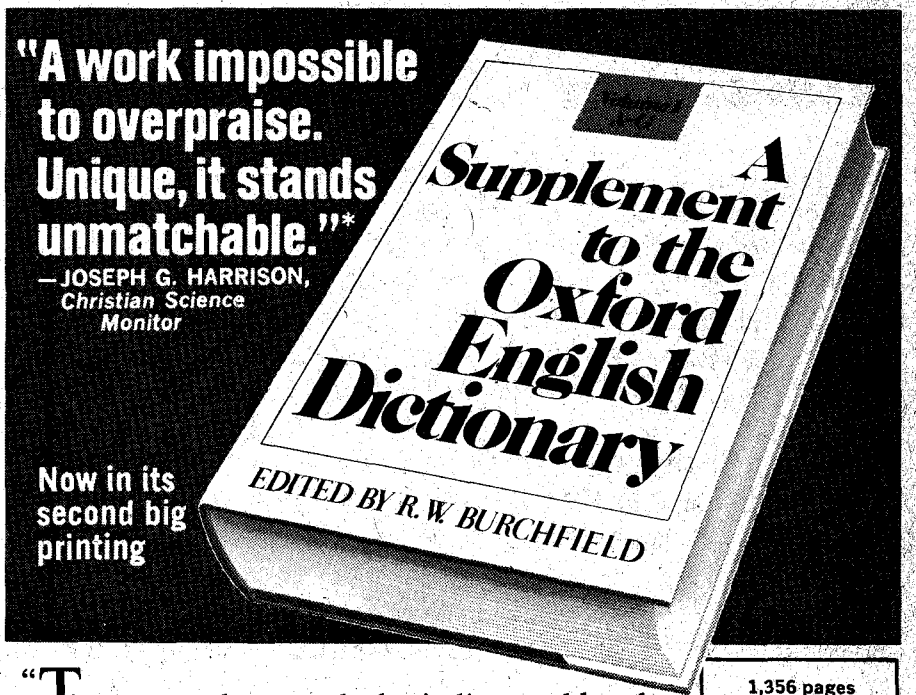
I am enclosing $_____ for _____ Profiles at $1.00 each, postpaid.

Senator _____ Name _____

Senator _____ Address _____

Representative _____ City _____

Representative _____ State _____ Zip _____


"A work impossible to overpraise. Unique, it stands unmatchable."*
—JOSEPH G. HARRISON, Christian Science Monitor
A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary
EDITED BY R. W. BURCHFIELD
Now in its second big printing

"The present last word, the indispensable addendum to what is, in all probability, the greatest continuing work of scholarship that this century has produced."

—PETER S. PRESCOTT, *Newsweek*

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

1,356 pages
18,000 main words
30,000 meanings
130,000 illustrative quotations
SIZE: 9⅜ x 12"
$50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are a number of reasons—beyond simple congressional reluctance to surrender the necessary flexible tax powers even to one of its own committees. Some people still lack faith that full employment *can* be assured; and there is uncertainty in some quarters as to whether we really need or want it. A generation is now coming to power that never knew at first hand the horror of personal insecurity in a period of mass unemployment. Monetary-fiscal policies already adopted along lines advocated by Pierson and most other modern economists have succeeded brilliantly in averting *major* economic downturns. This has made the lesser evils of slow growth and recessions seem more bearable, and strengthened the position of those who wish to "leave well enough alone" and not embark on further and more difficult measures. Today, non-economists often tend to regard recessions and periods of slow growth as depressions were formerly regarded: as more or less inevitable corrections that probably serve some useful purpose—even if it is not clear what it is.

As for the abandonment of the full employment goal as a *desideratum* this is rationalized today in two main ways. The first is the alleged unemployment-inflation trade-off: the Phillips Curve and all that! Excess unemployment is viewed as necessary to moderate the rise of wages and prices. Pierson argues strongly, on the other hand, that only an assurance of continued prosperity is likely to moderate trade union determination to get whatever is available so long as conditions permit, and he points to rapid wage increases even in recessions. In my opinion the problems of reconciling full employment and price stability are real but soluble. The solution will require difficult innovation in the sensitive area of wage determination, but such innovation is absolutely necessary anyway to curb inflation, whether we abandon the full employment goal or not.

The second, and currently fashionable, put-down for full employment—to which Pierson does not particularly address himself—is the ecological argument that the whole idea of growth and full employment is misguided because of the exhaustion of irreplaceable resources and the mounting dangers of pollution. But we will continue to need more services even if we decide to limit the growth of goods. And Pierson agrees that if we decide for fewer manhours of employment, we should reduce the work week or increase the number of part-time jobs, not force unemployment on a minority.

The present book assembles a wide variety of Pierson's previously published writings, plus considerable new material, and provides the best way of coming to an understanding of his ideas and concrete proposals. While it contains a few technical articles from professional journals (*The American Economic Review, Review of Economic Statistics, Kyklos*, etc.), most of it was originally designed for business, labor or government groups (or combinations of these like the National Planning Association) and is readily accessible to non-economists.

Pierson's interests are not fundamentally in economic theory but in institutions, mechanisms and political processes. He is essentially a reformer who has dedicated his life to the practical problems of abolishing a grave social evil. "In the Society of the future," he

If America ever makes it home, this Newsletter will tell how we got there.

A working seaman challenges the limousine-chauffered NMU hierarchy . . . a onetime cold warrior makes an opening to the left in his bid to succeed George Meany as AFL-CIO president . . . student activists show staying power in the Democratic Party . . . feminists take up the concerns of working women . . . and leading liberals look for alternatives to both the Nixon budget cuts and the Great Society programs.

The media haven't touched these stories, but Michael Harrington's **Newsletter of the Democratic Left** covers all these movements for social change. There's also continuing discussion of issues including the end of the Cold War, the conservatives' assault on equality, and the relevance of socialism to today's America.

Why not share the excitement of debates on tomorrow's issues—and timely reports from trade unionists, Democratic Party activists, and men and women organizing their communities and professions? More than a monthly shot of hope, the **Newsletter** takes you ahead of the headlines and inside the movements.

Subscribe Now. 10 issues/year: Student rate $2.50 *Regular Subscription $5 Sustaining Subscription $10
*Foreign Subscription $6 minimum.

Please enter my subscription to the
Newsletter of the Democratic Left, edited by Michael Harrington

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

send to **Newsletter of the Democratic Left,** 125 W. 77th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10024 • **From each according to his ability**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has written, "the right to a job will rank with the right of free speech and other precious rights we consider fundamental to the preservation of human dignity. The right to a job is more than getting an income; it is the right to perform a useful function, and to preserve a respected social status."

On the day when this precious right is unequivocally guaranteed by law, within a private enterprise economy, I predict that John Pierson will be honored as the man who first perceived the need for such a law and worked out the practical techniques by which it could be implemented. Anyone who desires to see this day dawn should read this book.

Emile Benoit

Chiefly Ironists

Asian Figures
by W. S. Merwin
(Atheneum; $1.95, paperback)

Gnomes & Occasions
by Howard Nemerov
(University of Chicago Press; $5.95)

Written on Water
by Charles Tomlinson
(Oxford University Press; $4.00)

Two Citizens
by James Wright
(Farrar, Straus & Giroux; $5.95)

In the prefatory note to his translations of Eastern aphorisms, proverbs, riddles, brief poems, W. S. Merwin speaks of the "urge to finality of utterance . . . to be irreducible and unchangeable." He goes on to say that in each instance he aimed at something that seemed to him "single, irreducible and complete in a manner plainly its own." Perhaps this is a definition of poetry. In any case, working from literal renderings, with notes, of Korean, Burmese, Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, Malayan and Lao figures, each group distinct from the others, Merwin has assembled an engaging collection. The pieces, whatever their provenance, have the conciseness of poetry, if not always its intensity. Occasionally the reader is troubled by a monotony of tone. Few examples are as poetic as this:

> Autumn rides down
> on one leaf.

or this:

> Pleasure flower
> pain seed.

—both from the Japanese. Or again:

> When the heart dies
> you can't even
> grieve.

—this from the Chinese:

> Hell has no door
> everyone makes
> his own

Most have a memorably acerb quality, such as the Korean:

> Three bushels of beads
> don't make a string
> if they haven't got a string.

and the Burmese:

> No rice
> manage with beans
> no brains
> join the army.

To turn from this collection to Howard Nemerov's latest, *Gnomes & Occasions*, is to have a sense of moving in the same direction, if the interpretation of the landscape is more discursive. The very use of the word "gnome" (here signifying maxim) in Nemerov's title is like a salute to the contents of Merwin's book. The difference is that Nemerov includes "occasions," framing his poems in time and place, mentioning certain names: Freud, Casals, Brueghel, Theseus, Samson, Absalom, Montaigne and others. One imagines that the company of the last-named would especially delight this poet. He responds suggestively to the evanescent gaiety of late butterflies, to the mysterious aspects of the heavens, to such seemingly minimal matters as stamps or the completing of a picture puzzle. Nor does he neglect God, about Whom he makes telling observations including one by his small son, who declares that

> . . . if God were true,
> He wouldn't make people not
> believe in Him.

It is the union of wit and feeling that marks these poems, resulting in hilarity or, more often, in poignant irony.

There is some likeness between the work of this American poet and his British confrère, Charles Tomlinson, although the tone of the latter is not as often wry as it is austere. Tomlinson's title poem, "Written on Water," inevitably suggests Keats, but he does not remind one of that master. Here, as in Nemerov's poems, as in Merwin's versions of Eastern dicta, there is an insistent ironic note. It plays like light, like the natural music of streams, of wind-tossed leaves, of birds, and the consciously shaped music of the great composers. Above all, it has to do with the conflict between the physical world and the mind, as also with their interplay. There is a good poem addressed to Hardy, and another to William Carlos Williams—none to Wallace Stevens. Yet,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Sharing of Land and Resources In America

Peter Barnes' six-part series on the distribution of land and wealth in America is now available as a 64-page booklet. Price [including postage and handling]:

1-10—$1.00 per copy
11-50—90 cents
over 50—75 cents

Address orders to
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th St., NW
Washington, DC 20036
prepaid orders only
D. C. residents add 5% tax

BOOK BARGAINS

THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOK STALL is again offering you substantial savings on a large list of important books you will want to read **now** and retain in your library. Order three or more for 50% savings. Cash only and the postage and *the handling is on us!*

The New Exiles by Roger Neville Williams. $6.35 (publisher's price $7.95) The inside story of American war resisters in Canada, America's first political refugees. No. 0085

40 Days With The Enemy by Richard Dudman. $4.75 (publisher's price $5.95) The story of a journalist held captive by guerrillas in Cambodia. No. 0088

McNamara—His Ordeal in the Pentagon by Henry L. Trewhitt. $6.35 (publisher's price $7.95) The chief diplomatic correspondent of Newsweek tells how one extraordinary man arrived at the levers of power and how he performed there. No. 0089

Thirty Years of Treason selected and edited by Eric Bentley. $9.95 (publisher's price $15.00) Excerpts from hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938-68. No. 0092

Political Brokers edited by Judith G. Smith. $6.35 (publisher's price $7.95) This book investigates the people and pressures that interact to shape government policies. No. 0097

The Memoirs of Marshall Zhukov. $9.95 (publisher's price $15.00) This is an important book for understanding the role of the Soviet military in the USSR today. No. 0090

Mail to:
The New Republic, 381 W. Center St., Marion Ohio 43302
Enclosed is my check for $_____ for the books listed by number
_____ _____ _____ _____ _____
Please mail the books at your expense to:
NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
D. C. residents add 5% tax

however diverse their performance, there seems to be a covert kinship with Stevens. It makes for the union of exhilaration and seriousness that the English poet offers. Tomlinson is far more keenly aware than Stevens was of the grim inhumanity of the human condition, but he is also, like Stevens, deeply moved by the vagaries of weather, of light, of water and what is written on it. One will return with pleasure to these, as to the author's earlier poems.

There is little in Tomlinson's collection to remind one that he has lived in America—in the United States and in Mexico. By the same token there is little in the latest sheaf of poems by James Wright to recall to the reader that this American has lived in Vienna as a student and in Japan as a member of the armed forces. On the contrary, the language—like the references, so often to his native Ohio—is indelibly American. He speaks of the miseries of life in America, and of life, *tout court*. He offers the pleasures of recognition in one of his most moving poems, "Prayer to the Good Poet," who is Horace, whose geniality is veiled in these lines to him, and whose meters are not followed precisely (how could they be, in English?) yet are strongly suggested. There are some minor quarrels to be had with the book. Certain symbols seem unnecessarily opaque. And to call Edward Thomas " . . . the only /Soldier in this century who was sane" is to ignore that sane and seminal poet, Wilfred Owen, among others.

Each of these collections is worth reading and rereading. Each bears some relation to the others, James Wright's being the most unlike the work of his contemporaries, yet bound to it as every poet's is in some way bound to the body of poetry, concerned with all that is implied in being alive, and, further, with making what peace one can with death.

Babette Deutsch

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DOUGLAS J. STEWART *is currently in Italy on sabbatical leave from Brandeis University.* EMILE BENOIT'S *latest book,* Defense and Economic Growth in Developing Countries, *is being published this month by D.C. Heath & Co.; he teaches international business and economics at Columbia University.* BABETTE DEUTSCH *is beginning work on the fourth edition of her* Poetry Handbook. CRAWFORD WOODS *free-lances from El Prado, NM.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Her Only True Feeling

Surfacing
by Margaret Atwood
(Simon & Schuster; $6.95)

This well-executed novel is the creation of a Canadian woman known largely for her poetry. *Surfacing*, Ms. Atwood's second novel, is about a young woman's search for her father who has disappeared in the wilderness of Quebec where she spent much of her childhood.

Although the impetus for this trip into the woods is the narrator's search for her father, it soon becomes a search into her entire history for the causes of her deep sense of alienation from the nature that surrounds her. Alienation is the central problem. City life has desensitized her and the novel's other characters. As she puts it, "The trouble is all in the knob at the top of our bodies. I'm not against the body or the head either: only the neck, which creates the illusion that they are separate . . . At some point my neck must have closed over, pond freezing or a wound, shutting me into my head. . . ." Thus her only true *feeling* is the fear that she isn't really alive. Discovering the origin of this fear and overcoming it is the final result of the father search; she comes to a new awareness of her own animal nature, "sufacing" as a whole being.

"Surfacing" is a recurrent theme or activity in the novel that is presented with great effect. "They slipped the needle into the vein and I was falling down, it was like diving, sinking from one layer of darkness to a deeper, deepest; when I rose up through this anaesthetic, pale green and then daylight, I could remember nothing." In this instance the surfacing brought forgetfulness, a forgetting of an illegal abortion, the experience that had caused the fear that she wasn't really alive: "I was emptied, amputated; I stank of salt and antiseptic, they had planted death in me like a seed . . . Since then I'd carried that death around inside me, layering it over, a cyst, a tumor, a black pearl. . . ." In another instance a clue left by her father leads the narrator to a lake to inspect an underwater cliff which may be covered with Indian rock paintings. After repeated plunges into the lake ("Pale green, then darkness, layer after layer . . .") on the bottom she sees "a dark oval trailing limbs" and suddenly "the lake was horrible, it was filled with death, it was touching me." The "surfacing" of death.

In some ways this is a feminist novel; we see a woman's "consciousness being raised" as she comes to appreciate her uniquely female qualities, and to gain rapport with that part of her which is not intellectual but animal. Up to this point men had been controlling her reproductive ability. The abortion, which had caused her so much anguish, was followed by a legal pregnancy, but her husband had "imposed it on me, all the time it was growing in me I felt like an incubator. . . ." Even its birth was mechanical: "they don't let you see, they don't want you to understand, they want you to believe it's their power, not yours . . . they bend over you, technicians, mechanics . . . they take the baby out with a fork like a pickle out of a pickle jar." Later however, when she is in the woods, she imagines that her lover Joe impregnates her:

> He trembles and then I can feel my lost child surfacing within me, forgiving me, rising from the lake where it has been prisoned for so long . . . This time I will do it by myself, squatting, on old newspapers in a corner alone; or on leaves, dry leaves, a heap of them, that's cleaner. The baby will slip out easily as an egg, a kitten, and I'll lick it off and bite the cord, the blood returning to the ground where it belongs; the moon will be full, pulling.

Although she is crazed at this point, this reversion to the animalistic state confirms the body and its functions, restoring her positive feeling toward and control over those functions.

Nevertheless this is not essentially in the feminist mode. It is a sensitive portrayal of one woman's struggle to deal with her past, reflecting her need to return to a simpler life. It is done with an artistic subtlety throughout which makes it a novel, not a fictitious treatise.

Dianne Ferriss

WHAT WILL YOUR DOLLAR BE WORTH IN 1975 ?

Is skyrocketing inflation eating up your dollars faster than you make them? Beat inflation.

ORDER PURE

SILVER

You'll still have something to show for it tomorrow.

GET THE FACTS TODAY! Send for FREE BROCHURE. ORDER DIRECT FROM THE FACTORY AND SAVE

INTERNATIONAL DIA-MINT CORPORATION 315 East 2nd South Salt Lake City Utah 84111

CALL TOLL FREE (800) 453-4263

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

No obligation, naturally!

dissent

A Quarterly Publication

The Spring issue features:

THE NEW CONSERVATIVES: INTELLECTUALS IN RETREAT
by Joseph Epstein

"the novelty of this new conservatism resides in the fact that it appears to be a conservatism arrived at upon disinterested grounds . . . Could this be the serious conservatism America has so long lacked?"

•

Also in this issue:

David Spitz: A Critique of B. F. Skinner
Robert Heilbroner: What is "Post-Industrial Society?"
Michael Harrington: The Politics of Tightrope
Herberto Padilla: Subversive Poems
Rose Laub Coser: Women's Liberation and Women Critics

$1.75 per copy $7.00 a year

DISSENT, 509 Fifth Ave., NYC 10017

Name _____
(please print)

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Five African Poems

The point of this sampler, a mini-anthology of five poems, is to convey at least a beginning impression of the rich variety of modern African poetry.

I did not select the poems to illustrate any thesis about modern Africa, its creativity, its unity or diversity. Nor are the five selections meant to be taken as representative of African poetry today, or even of the work of the five poets. They are not necessarily the African poems I like best, nor are they the poems their authors themselves might choose for such a purpose, but I commend them—the poems, and the poets—to your attention.

Oswald Mtshali is a black South African poet, and also an outspoken, sometimes Swiftian weekly columnist in the *Rand Daily Mail* at Johannesburg. His *Sounds of a Cowhide Drum* (Renoster Books, Johannesburg, 1971) from which the poem below is drawn, has gone into eight printings, 16,000 copies; and last year, under the same title but with the author's name given as Oswald Mbuyiseni Mtshali, the book was issued in the United States by The Third Press, New York City. Okot p'Bitek was born in Uganda, now lives and works in Kenya, and is the author of *Songs of Lawino* (1966), *Song of Ocol* (1970), and *Two Songs* (1971)—all initially published by East African Publishing House, Nairobi. His poem below, somewhat untypical of the body of his work, appeared in the Makerere Arts Festival '71 issue of *Dhana*, a journal of East African creative writing sponsored by the department of literature at Makerere University in Kampala. Chinua Achebe is a renowned African author of fiction whose first book of poetry, *Beware, Soul Brother* (from which his poem below is drawn), was published in April 1971 by Nwanko-Ifejikz & Company in Enugu. Achebe is currently in a teaching year at the University of Massachusetts. That first book of his poetry, but with the poem below and several others somewhat revised and seven new poems added, appeared in the United States earlier this year under the title *Christmas in Biafra and Other Poems* (Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, NY, 1973). Solomon Deressa is an Ethiopian poet whose first volume of poetry, *Lidjinet* ("Youth"), was published in 1970 by Halle Books at Addis Ababa. He is now a participant in the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa, and his poem is from a group of new poems he has written there. Kojo Gyinaye Kyei is a Ghanaian architect whose *The Lone Voice* was published in 1969 by the Ghana Universities Press at Accra. Kyei's poem refers to his sojourn at the University of Kansas several years ago.

All five poems are printed with the permission of their authors.

John Pauker

Washington poet and translator JOHN PAUKER *has traveled extensively in Africa in the past two years.*

An "If" Of History

Had Hitler won his
war just think what
a mess the history books
would be in today. An American
man of conscience recently
troubled his people by putting
the guilt of the Japanese
general they hanged for war
crimes beside Westmoreland's
today in Viet Nam. But
every school boy knows that
hanging requires not only
the victim's guilt but also
a judge virtuous by power.
Nobody hangs a strong
victorious man; he is
laurelled in glory and moral
sweetness. Had Hitler won his war
Churchill certainly would have died
for war crimes. As for Harry
Truman carrying the cosmic
guilt of Hiroshima . . . Had
Hitler won his war de Gaulle
would have needed no further
trial for he was already
condemned to die by Paris
for his treason to France. Had
Hitler won his war Vidkun
Quisling would have retained
his job as Prime Minister
of the Republic of Norway, simply
by Hitler winning.

CHINUA ACHEBE

Copyright 1971, 1973 by Chinua Achebe

Kan to Kan

Kan begins the Kan of Kanyasi,
Where I was born
And brought up.
Kan begins the Kan of Kansas,
Where I studied
And grew up.

Kan to Kan
Spans space,
The jungles,
The seas.
Kan to Kan
Spans my life's span
Of yesterday, here and yonder.

KOJO GYINAYE KYEI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Always a Suspect

I get up in the morning
and dress up like a gentleman—
A white shirt a tie and a suit.

I walk into the street
to be met by a man
who tells me "to produce."

I show him
the document of my existence
to be scrutinized and given the nod.

Then I enter the foyer of a building
to have my way barred by a
commissionaire
"What do you want?"

I trudge the city pavements
side by side with "madam"
who shifts her handbag
from my side to the other,
and looks at me with eyes that say
"Ha! Ha! I know who you are;
beneath those fine clothes
ticks the heart of a thief."

Oswald Mtshali

Copyright 1972 by The Third Press, Joseph Okpaku Publishing Company

The Anonymous Abyssinian Painters

You and I come and go
lines cross accidentally
pass to and fro
tremble and switch
fall short or reach
pierce or hug
slobber sentimentally
or smile and jitterbug
easing, pleasing
incidental
changing, checkered, momentary
bingo! blossom into a single mystery.
Now, their color is another story.
Strangely you and I also met
now, that too was an improbability.

Solomon Deressa

Blessing the Hunters' Spears

Elder: Let the animals' heads be confused.
All: Let them be confused.
Elder: Let them halt and stumble.
All: Halt and stumble.
Elder: When our spears graze their heads, let them be confused.
All: Let them be confused.
Elder: If you kill hartebeeste, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: If you kill warthog, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: Let the waterbuck be confused.
All: Let it be confused.
Elder: If you kill reedbuck, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: If you kill buffalo, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: If you kill elephant, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: If you kill giraffe, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: If you kill rhinoceros, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: Let the liver be folded, let it fill the winnowing basket.
All: Let it fill.
Elder: May you taste the head in the courtyard in the homestead.
All: In the courtyard in the homestead.
Elder: Let it be peaceful, let the head of the buffalo be confused.
All: Let it be confused.
Elder: Let it be peaceful, let the head of the warthog be confused.
All: Let it be confused.
Elder: Our spears are straight.
All: They are straight.
Elder: If our spears strike, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: The meat is cut up in the winnowing basket.
All: It is cut up.
Elder: If the hunt is peaceful, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: If you slaughter animals, it is good.
All: It is good.
Elder: If the women rejoice, it is good.
All: It is good.

Okot p' Bitek

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reconsideration

J. D. Salinger

By now J. D. Salinger's Holden Caulfield would be approaching 40, and perhaps (with him one can't be certain) would have fathered one or two of those children he dreamed of catching, in case their frolic in the rye led them dangerously astray. By no means have readers wearied of Holden. As of April 1972 his youthful preoccupations had gone into their 33rd paperback printing. It is hard to estimate the influence of a widely read book, but surely few writers have affected certain young people of a generation as strongly as Salinger did in the 1950s and into the early 1960s. And by some fateful irony, his stories stopped appearing at just the point that some of his long-time admirers began to turn to other writers and thinkers for sanction—as if he sensed that he had gone as far as he could in a particular direction: so, better silence than repetition, or worse, the scorn of the young idealists whose sense of the world he had made such a keen effort to understand.

Catcher in the Rye
by J. D. Salinger
Originally published by Little, Brown in 1951
Now available from Little, Brown, $5.95; Bantam, $1.25

Franny and Zooey
by J. D. Salinger
Originally published by Little, Brown in 1961
Now available from Little, Brown, $5.95; Bantam, $1.50

Over and over again Salinger's name crossed the lips of the white, middle-class civil rights activists who a decade ago began to leave Ivy League colleges for work in the South. I was living in the South then, working with SNCC and with the black and white youths who pioneered school desegregation. Scarcely a day went by that Salinger's name wasn't mentioned. For the high-school students (and I would include a number of black ones we were talking with) Holden Caulfield was very much a saint of sorts. Others were fooled by all the "phonies" who run and work in schools, but Holden knew better, and perhaps (the hope was repeatedly expressed) some of those who read about him would gain enough toughness and imaginativeness of spirit to follow his example. Of course those youths often failed to mention what happened to Holden; in the last chapter he is in a psychiatric hospital, and one guesses it is a private one. In contrast that outcome certainly was not ignored by the somewhat older youths who had interrupted those blissful years at Harvard and Yale, the University of Chicago or Berkeley for a stint of by no means easy political protest in obscure counties of Mississippi, Alabama or Louisiana. To them Salinger had become a temporary enemy of sorts—the lot of any fallen hero, I suppose.

As I returned to *Catcher in the Rye* and *Franny and Zooey* I thought of what I had heard in the South 10 years ago—it seems like a century has intervened; and so at my wife's suggestion I also went through again some of my old working notes and reports. Here, for instance, is what I heard one evening in a Freedom House, set up in the Mississippi Delta during the summer of 1964: "There was a time I thought Salinger was God Almighty—he saw so much, and he made *me* see so much. I read *Catcher in the Rye* in high school, and it was the most important thing I read then. It's strange to think back, but for a long time I *was* Holden Caulfield. I remember thinking that Salinger must have disguised himself in my home town and taken notes on all of us my age; he knew how we spoke, what we thought. I even wrote him a letter—the only time I've ever done that. I told him he'd written a ghost story; Holden Caulfield was my ghost, haunting me. My girlfriend said the same thing: Holden was her and her brother and me—and, well: everyone in our school, it seemed, or at least the people we liked. It made no difference that Holden was a boy; he spoke for her—they were soul-mates, she used to say. But I'll tell you, that's all a thing of the past. Who can spend his life calling people phonies? The Negroes here in the Delta aren't phonies. Even the redneck segregationists aren't; they say what they believe. (In a way they're more honest than my liberal parents and my liberal professors.) And lately Salinger has really flipped; all that mystical business. Here you meet people who can't vote, and don't know where their next meal is coming from, and he's giving us that screwy Glass family and their endless obsessions. That just has to be the most self-centered family in all literature!"

There was more, much more. I remember how angry I became as I listened, for I had been almost as haunted by the Glass family as he had once been by Holden Caulfield. When I remarked that I thought it wasn't exactly fair to connect Mississippi's serious and awful racial problems with Salinger's stories, this young radical—I will call him Jim—let me know how fair he believed it was to do precisely that: "I don't deny Salinger's skill as a writer. I'm not even opposed to the subject matter. If he wants to keep examining the minds of those upper-middle-class misfits, then let him. He's got the Madison-Park-Lexington Avenue scene down cold. He knows every nook and cranny. I still respect him as a writer; he can seduce you like mad. But I can't take his philosophy: sit back and contemplate the universe; say your prayers day and night; look for the Fat Lady like Seymour Glass did. The Fat Lady was Jesus Christ. Well, are these Klan guys down here Jesus Christ? If so, we have plenty of ugly Fat Ladies down here, and we're out to take a stand against them, win a war against them, not contemplate our navels."

That was the end of that; I was by then even angrier at Jim, but also rather critical of myself. I was not taking the risks he was, and I was expecting of him a degree of detachment and literary "objectivity" that was unreasonable, given his circumstances. Worse, I was plain condescending: *he* could forsake Salinger, but certainly I would never outlive the need to keep in mind what an important writer was trying to expose and satirize, or on the other hand indicate to be significant.

It has turned out that Jim has perhaps forgotten a good deal less of his Salinger than I have. He stayed in Mississippi for the rest of that summer, was once almost killed by an explosion of dynamite planted by someone. A year later he was back. Two years later he was back again. Three years later he was demonstrating against the Vietnam war and teaching English in a high school. The book he found most useful: *Catcher in the Rye*. The self-important phonies Salinger bears down upon so hard and relentlessly were all around him, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he was glad for the help of a writer who could be satirical without bitterness or nastiness. Anyway, many of the students he taught had already read the book on their own—one of the few they actively sought out.

By 1968 he was disenchanted as never before—and increasingly without interest in politics. Mississippi was becoming a fading memory. The war in Vietnam outraged him, but he wanted more and more to fit that particular horror into a much larger "frame of reference," to use his words. "Why do people behave so meanly and think so narrowly and worry themselves endlessly over things that are of little if any consequence?" Jim asked that question when I saw him in 1970. I remember thinking—the inadequacy, if not the idiocy of those adjectives we call upon to type a person or his mood—that he was becoming very "philosophical." And a year later I was less casual with my adjectives and maybe a little vexed: he was indeed "philosophical," to the point that he had used some strong drugs, was "into" yoga, and spoke of Eastern religious ideas which I knew little or nothing about—only that Salinger had referred to them once obliquely in *Catcher in the Rye*, and again, with more emphasis, in "Zooey." It had come about that the young teacher was urging Salinger on me, and I was holding back.

Yet, as I returned to Salinger's novel and stories recently I began to appreciate what that no longer so youthful but still idealistic, gentle and thoughtful Jim was trying to tell me a few years ago. "Don't you see," he had said, "J. D. saw it all, he saw it all, 10 years ago, 20." I didn't like the way he referred to Salinger—folksy informality can irritate—but found it hard to argue with him; Salinger long ago went beyond spotting phonies in private schools (or among psychiatrists). Unlike some satirists, he came up with a remarkably compelling (and it has turned out, contemporary) analysis of what might be a better way for us to live with each other, not to mention ourselves.

Holden Caulfield is yet another quizzical adolescent, scornful of what he does see and quite sure there is even more to unearth and condemn. He is kin of Maisie in Henry James' *What Maisie Knew* and of Portia in Elizabeth Bowen's *Death of the Heart;* like them, he serves the author's purpose: to scrutinize the banalities and cruelties that the rest of us, grown-up and so sure of our right to preach to children, often make a point of ignoring or justifying. But Salinger is not only a shrewd and winning observer or critic; he is also a rather active proponent of certain values—and it turns out, a man of considerable vision. In the late 1940s, when Holden first began to appear (in *Collier's*, December 1945, in *The New Yorker*, December 1946) men wore their hair short, the nation was hopeful that its industrial productivity, so accelerated by World War II, would continue to increase by leaps and bounds, psychoanalysis was becoming a virtual religion among the agnostic *haute bourgeoisie* of cities like New York, Chicago and San Francisco, and certainly the idea of being a soldier and fighting a war was not looked down upon—the worst tyrant in history having just been defeated through the efforts of millions of American, British and Russian troops. Nevertheless Holden differed strongly with those and other habits or assumptions of postwar America. If his differences were destined to be overlooked or unduly taken in stride by his admirers, then one has to ask whether *any* criticism could really unnerve Eisenhower's America.

Much of the criticism of *Catcher in the Rye* (thoughtfully and diligently assembled a decade ago by Henry Anatole Grunwald in *Salinger: A Critical and Personal Portrait)* centers on Holden Caulfield as the *enfant terrible*, or the mixed-up, if not seriously "disturbed" adolescent. True, he is praised for his social commentary, or condemned as a snotty kid who sees the obvious, all from the vantage point of obvious money and power. (His father is a corporation lawyer.) But the emphasis is always on the private schools he attended, one after the other, or the New York scene that keeps coming up: the Hotel Biltmore, Central Park, the museums, the theater, the skating rink, a movie, a cafeteria, a train terminal, a swanky apartment building or two. That is, Holden is given credit for getting the number of all the phonies he meets in those places, or is called a self-indulgent brat who has no real "depth," only a kind of smart-aleck, superficial shrewdness.

In fact, Holden long ago addressed himself to the most serious of concerns; and they are ones which still hold our attention. He can't imagine himself fighting in a war. He is aghast at the tawdriness of urban life; he yearns for a place that is quiet, that is "nice and peaceful"—not surrounded by defaced buildings and noisemaking machines and air that one can't enjoy breathing. His girlfriend wonders why people have to wear crewcuts. And he extends his criticism of a particular culture a lot further than that: the dreariness and rigidity of the "best" education; the smugness and narrowness that a certain kind of psychoanalytic ideologue can demonstrate, and for doing so, be worshipped as a virtual messiah; and not least, the subtle nature of that social and psychological "adjustment" most of us make to the various "powers and principalities" we recognize both dimly and quite clearly (depending upon which moment it is) as our ultimate masters—always to be taken into consideration and appeased, if not followed blindly.

Today there are words, names, phrases for "developments" which Holden Caulfield, Franny and Zooey and their creator had no idea they would anticipate: ecology; the counterculture; the educational reform movement; the insistence of doctors like R. D. Laing that psychoanalysis amount to something more than a clever means of enforcing the "politics of adjustment." Holden ends up being questioned by doctors who might have profited from what he saw. If he is a wiseguy, one wants to use the expression in the literal sense. Besides, what are we to call the people who run or teach in Pencey Prep and Saxon Hall and all the other places he attended? What are we to make of that psychiatrist he mentions, so eager to push a youth of bothersome intelligence and candor into various straitjackets—after which he can be called "normal" or "mature"? In "Franny" briefly, in "Zooey" at greater length, such ironical issues again get probed rather well, and in addition a few others are brought into focus. The arrogant and priggish Lane Coutell, at lunch with an extraordinarily spiritual, yet enraged and offended Franny, soon enough was to be exposed by thousands of women as a pretentious male egotist. As for the minister Dr. Homer Vincent Claude Pierson, Jr. (author of "God is My Hobby"), he and his kind have ready access to cozy Sunday services at the White House—"little informal visits with God" is Salinger's all too

Coming
Louis Coxe reconsiders
Herman Melville's
The Encantadas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prophetic description.

I have no idea why Salinger has not in recent years graced us with more stories. It is no one's business, really. He has already given us enough, maybe too much: we so far have not shown ourselves able to absorb and use the wisdom he has offered us. Today the man I have quoted, Jim, finds Salinger "as important as any writer" he has read; in a sense he has come full circle—from Salinger to Salinger. A dedicated if somewhat offbeat school teacher, his mind and spirit are not unlike Zooey's: sarcastic at times, tender and vulnerable at other times; now indignant, now resigned and intensely prayerful. A while back one could read Salinger and feel him to be not only an original and gifted writer, a marvelous entertainer, a man free of the slogans and clichés the rest of us fall prey to, or welcome as salvation itself, but also a terribly lonely man. Perhaps he still feels lonely; but he is, I think, not so alone these days. The worst in American life he anticipated and portrayed to us a generation ago. The best side of us—Holden and the Glasses—still survives, and more can be heard reaching for expression in various ways and places, however serious the present-day assaults from various "authorities." I put down *Catcher in the Rye* and *Franny and Zooey* this year again grateful to their author. I wondered once more how to do justice to his sensibility: his wide and generous responsiveness to religious and philosophical ideas, his capacity to evoke the most poignant of human circumstances vividly and honestly, and with a rare kind of humor, both gentle and teasing. No doubt that sensibility continues to attract the many young men and women who read him; it can be said that they read him out of a special and occasionally desperate kind of thirst and hunger which he has all along appreciated and, "a certain Samaritan" that he is, tried both to comprehend and assuage.

Robert Coles

Crawford Woods on TV

Wounded Knee

The steady hand-held porta-pak camera focused on a young man with a sagging moustache, clad in a beret and a tiger suit marked with the arrowhead patch of the Special Forces. A veteran of SEA, the Philippines, and—he darkly hinted—God knows what other secret battle zones, he was speaking now from Wounded Knee, his uniform an unofficial souvenir of other wars. "I'm tired of killing nonwhites for a white government," he told the camera somewhat disingenuously; and the videotape repeated his words to a hushed audience in the basement of the Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco. Somebody offered a predictable "right on." Perhaps others wondered how many nonwhites the speaker had had to kill before he lost his taste for it.

This was a raw moment from a ragged but compelling tape made by Video Free America for the American Indian Movement at Wounded Knee, SD, where, at the time the tape was made, the small group of Oglala Sioux who had seized ground and hostages were, or so the tape said, in far worse shape than had been reported through conventional news channels. People were starving and suffering the denial of medical aid to a degree that made the newsweeklies' coverage of Wounded Knee as a "musical comedy"—and I believe either *Time* or *Newsweek* called it exactly that—look ugly indeed.

There was also an interview with an Indian woman who held an old book up to view—"and these treaties are just as ragged as the book"—and a classically composed speech from an American Indian Movement (AIM) lawyer who's defending the rebels (suit-clad, seated at his desk before an imposing backdrop of law books). Ponderous statements from vaguely identified people. Long shots of the rebels in their bunkers, rifles at the ready, fans of tepees, frame buildings and the stark Dakota flatland stretching away from their dramatic stand.

Thus what is variously called alternative, underground and guerrilla television has shown up in a form that seems entitled to the last name: whatever its inadequacies, a tape is now making the rounds of radical churches and campuses that demonstrates a true power of the new form, the power of alternative political statement. Much nonbroadcast videotape has concentrated on art, pornography and playful freakery of one sort or another; rather little has been seen that addresses itself to issues rooted in blood. So this tape from Wounded Knee has a special importance that goes beyond the problem of how far its advocacy has undercut its accuracy—it forms a practical challenge to ordinary news sources, stirring up the question of what journalistic truth is and how we can best get at it.

Can we believe this tape? If we take for granted that the network news often lies through commission, omission or default, shall we assume this homemade hour, which most of you will never see, gives the real goods?

According to the tape and the speakers who accompanied it the morning I saw it at the Glide Memorial Church, network and normal press coverage of Wounded Knee has been characterized by appalling bias: only reporters keyed to the government's view have been allowed in, while properly credentialed newsmen presumed sympathetic to the rebels have been barred; the networks have treated the situation at worst as a joke and at best as mud-street theater; all parts of the established press have swallowed and propagated official duplicity and craft.

One's suspicions are aroused in tandem with one's sympathies by such extravagant assertions, yet this tape is a strong corrective, a reminder that the truth is most nearly reached when informed people are free to sift diverse sources of fact and opinion. As one of the tapemakers put it, "If we can't get help to Wounded Knee, at least we can get information out." To which one can genuinely add, right on.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kauffmann, *from page 20*

flashy new clothes, at the first appearance of his "pimpmobile" (his $35,000 car), at the mention of his weekly take, joy explodes from the audience; and the dialogue between them and the screen, which rarely quiets entirely, bursts into loud, happy obscenities. When the hero of *Super Fly* sniffed his cocaine, there were knowing and approving comments from the audience. Similar, knowing comments when Goldie mistreats his women. I don't want to commit the amateur sociological error of basing generalities on small samples, but what I've seen and heard, combined with what others have told me and have written, indicates that at least my experiences are not exceptional.

The first reaction is double: estrangement and shock. A white viewer gets the sensation of a separate nation within the country—not a new (or true) sensation but always a disquieting suggestion. Second is the shock that black filmmakers and actors, financed and industrially aided by whites, are so willing to exploit their own people: to show a young black dope pusher and a pimp as examples, just because those examples will bring 'em in at the box office. (And the incidental homiletic bows don't cover this up.) All that talk about Black Power and Black Is Beautiful, and when they finally get their long-delayed screen time, all they do is show that Black Is Ugly—just as ugly as everybody else.

That's the first reaction among a lot of black commentators and white ones, too. Whites allowed the protest to be registered first by blacks, lest they seem anti-black. But as despicable as these films intrinsically are and as disquieting as it is to see them with the audience they were made for, that reaction of dismay soon begins to seem sanctimonious and hypocritical. After all Black Is Beautiful was just a pep-up slogan; the true slogan is, or ought to be, Black Is Human. And why in the world should we expect black film people, now empowered to make movie money, to behave differently or better than 99 percent of white film people behaved in the 70 years that they had full control of the screen?

Shaft and *Super Fly* and *The Mack* seem to me different from, for instance, the James Bond films, principally in budget. For Bond, the sadism and sex fantasies are justified by anti-fascism and anti-communism; for the black

do you teach . . .

government, literature, history, economics, international relations?
then stimulate your students with* The New Republic — *bring it into the classroom.

And now a weekly TEACHERS' GUIDE to be used with your classroom subscriptions — free of charge. Student exercises may be reproduced for classroom use.

Those of you who are familiar with *The New Republic* know that it is more than a weekly "news" magazine . . . that it does more than report. It encourages the students to explore, to seek meaning, to "start little insurrections in the realm of their convictions."

If you are a teacher of government, literature, international relations, history or economics, we recommend *The New Republic* for use in your classroom. Special classroom rates for bulk orders of 10 or more copies are as follows: *Each student's copy costs only 17 cents weekly if 10 or more are mailed to a single address. Free desk copies are included for each instructor.*

Orders may be placed for any number of weeks, for one week only, or for the entire year. You will receive your copies before they appear on the newsstand – insurance that the contents are fresh and exciting.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
An Independent Journal of Opinion
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Please enter this CLASSROOM ORDER.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Number of copies weekly .....

Number of free copies needed for Instructor's use .....

Starting date .....

Termination date .....

Signature .....

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

protagonists, by anti-whitism. Both licenses are glib reductions of true dangers. Recently I saw the Coming Attractions of an all-white film called *The Crazies* that in three minutes managed to sicken me with its violence. I walked out of a film called *Sisters*—directed (to his disgrace) by Brian de Palma and scored (to *his* disgrace) by Bernard Herrmann, who did the music for *Citizen Kane*—after about 30 minutes of cretinous story and lavish bloodshed. Will there be equivalent protests about these two white films? You know the answer.

The protests about the new black films seem to me insubstantial. From blacks, they are unrealistic; from whites they are patronizing. The whites seem to be saying: "Come, come, you blacks can do better than that. Now that we've given you your chance, you're not going to make *this* sort of thing, are you? Why don't you just turn out one masterwork after another and leave the crass money-making to white film people?" (Not to mention the fakery: white producers and distributors and theater-owners are making a nice dollar out of black films.) If equality means anything, it means that one group is not judged by standards other than those applied to larger groups.

I'm not arguing, cynically or otherwise, that values are of no consequence. But only after this pharisaism disappears can standards really begin to apply; only after there is a *body* of black films, as generally rotten as most white films, will there be a chance for the occasional good black film, as there is for the occasional good white one. To believe otherwise, to believe that black people will never make better films, is true racism; and so, by my argument, is the caterwauling about these present cheap films while similar white films are tolerated. And the way that black filmmakers, now that they have the chance, are rushing in to make money, as avidly as anyone else, has a kind of cold comfort in it. It shows that culturally speaking, Black Panthers and Black Muslims to the contrary notwithstanding, this is one nation indivisible.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

Personals

"IMPEACH NIXON!" Buttons, Bumperstrips. 2/$1, 5/$2, 15/$5. Hottrain, Box 441-W, Carrboro NC 27510

RALPH NADER PROFILE of your Senators and Representative $1.00 each. See Who's Who in Congress ad this issue.

SINGLES INTRODUCTIONS! Details! Identity, Box 315-NR, Royal Oak, Michigan 48068

HELP FIGHT HIGH PRICES! Display "Boycott Meat" bumpersticker. Send $1. Consumer Services, 318 N. Main, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901.

HELP AN UNDERPRIVILEGED AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD to remain in school, and have a new friend who needs you. $15 monthly. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D.C. 20016, (301) 320-3536.

PENFRIENDS. For free information write: Papyrus, Box 458NE, Winston-Salem, N.C. 27102.

SPONSOR A POOR BLACK TEENAGER to outward bound survival course as part of his long-term leadership training. $5 to $500 contributions tax deductible. Discovery Leadership Institute, 1620 Summer Street, Philadelphia 19103

Original drawings by Thom Hickam

contact The New Republic, Box 6470

"REMEMBER WOUNDED KNEE" Bumperstickers. 2/$1, 5/$2. JB Enterprises, Box 324-NR Yankton, S.D. 57078

LEARN YOUR TRUE PERSONALITY—handwriting analysis $5. Handwriting, 741 North 11th West, Salt Lake City, Utah 84116.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH, $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th Street, New York 10016.

HOROSCOPE: 10-Page report. Send full birth information, $10.00 Michael Wood, 43 Joy Street, Boston, Mass. 02114.

SOCIAL SECURITY available young/aged. Details $1.00. Carron, 1329 Empire, Anaheim, California 92804.

SLEEP-LEARNING: HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24—NR, Olympia, Washington.

HELP OVERCOME DISCRIMINATION and severe underprivilege. Sponsor a Spanish-American school child in New Mexico. Correspondence. Visitation. $180. per year. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Rd., Washington, D.C. 20016.

ALPHAPHONE® headset – brainwave trainer. Free literature. Aquarius Electronics, Box 627-Q, Mendocino, California 95460.

"KENNEDY FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers 5/$1.00 Buttons 4/$1.00 Kennedy, 4624 Mercier, Kansas City, Mo. 64112

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception. AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles, California 90036.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½' x 2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, California 90307.

Something to Sell?

Write your own classified for just $6.00

For only 60¢ per word your 10 word classified ad will reach more than 400,000 readers. There is no limit in length so be as prolific as your budget allows. Use the form below to send us your order.

Please run the enclosed advertisement _____ times in THE NEW REPUBLIC. Advance payment of $_____ is enclosed.

_____

_____

_____

_____

(See rates next page)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Peace Personals

SAVE A SOUTH VIETNAMESE LIFE! Wear a medical ID bracelet with a political prisoner's name and location. Donation $1. PAC/CFP Box 6122 Torrance, CA 90504

DON'T BLAME ME—I VOTED FOR McGOVERN. Vinyl bumperstickers $1.00 each, 6 for $5.00. Checks to N.J. SANE, 324 Bloomfield Ave., Montclair, N.J. 07042.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS, Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

Literature

MILITARY and WAR-RELATED
Funds are over 55% of Congressional Appropriations
Write for analysis and "pie" chart (60¢). Send $5 for Newsletter subscription.
Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 2nd St. N.E., Washington, D. C., 20002

POLYGLOT MAGAZINE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP—50¢ P.O. Box 26531, Hollywood, Calif. 90026

FREE BOOK, Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester New York 14619.

Literary Services

LIBRARY INFORMATION. Research by professional librarians. All fields. Box 8208R, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217.

WRITERS—"UNSALABLE" MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphic-copy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 11011.

Camps

BOYS! GIRLS! (8 to 15) Ride, swim, camp, work on small family ranch in Buffalo Bill Cody Country. Visit Yellowstone, Grand Tetons, buffalos, rodeos! 4, 6, or 8 weeks. Write: Two Cabin Ranch Meeteetse, Wyoming 82433

Find out about WOOLMAN HILL EDUCATIONAL WORK CAMP, Write Woolman Hill, Deerfield, Mass. 01342. Teach your hands something, cooperatively. Also WOOLMAN HILL TRIPS TO THE INTERIOR, 4 weeks backpacking in the mountains of New England. All for good people 14-20.

Foreign Studies

AMERICAN EDUCATION IN SWITZERLAND. Leysin American School for University Preparatory Studies. International Environment. Coeducational, grades 9-12, boarding, 200 boys and girls. Experienced, qualified U. S./International staff, teacher-pupil ratio 1:10. Solid academic program, advanced placement. PSSC Physics, Chemstud, BSCS Biology; strong Mathematics. Foreign Languages/Curriculum related European tours. Alpine and winter sports. Excellent college admissions record. Affiliated with the American College of Switzerland. Write: Leysin American School, 1854 Leysin 52, Leysin, Switzerland, or Hans Spengler, U. S. Representative, 330 East 49th Street, New York 10017

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN SUMMER PROGRAM IN ROME June 18-July 20. Intensive studio work at the college's headquarters in a 16th century palace in the heart of ancient Rome. Basic Italian, visiting artists, and field trips. 6 Credits Tuition $400.
Other Summer Programs (Providence Campus) include: Workshops in fine arts and design for college students and Pre-College Foundation for High School Students June 25-July 27. For information write or call: Mr. Bruce Helander, RISD, 2 College Street, Providence, R.I. 02903. (401) 331-3507 Ext: 234

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE on 3-week non-political non-profit exchange visits to the USSR. Open to qualified Americans, all ages, occupations. Departures June through December. Write-Wire-Phone Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR, 10 West 46th Street, New York, New York 10036. (212) 581-8113.

USSR TOUR 30 days $995.00 beginning Amsterdam July 18. Optional Credit Occidental College. California Student Tours, 1800 Broadway, San Francisco, Calif. 94109.

Employment Wanted

HIGHLY EDUCATED LONGHAIR AND ARTISTIC WIFE with backgrounds in natural foods seek meaningful employment. Franceway Statton, 1801 Highland Avenue, Knoxville, Tennessee 37916

Employment Opportunities

EDUCATIONAL REFERRAL SERVICE specializing in referrals of college-level teaching positions in English, History, Political Science, Modern Languages and Philosophy. For information write E.R.S., Box 9148, Boston, Mass. 02114

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 889-N, Belmont, California 94002.

Spare Time

HOW TO MAKE MONEY Writing Short Paragraphs! I tell you what to write, where and how to sell, and supply lists of editors buying from beginners. Small checks can add up to worthwhile extra income. Write to sell, right away. Send for free facts on my "Home Studies in Writing," Barrett, Dept. C-456-X, 6216. N. Clark, Chicago 60660.

Property—Sale/Rent

BOSTON TOWNHOUSE Summer rental for compulsive housekeepers. Thomas, 136 W. Newton 02118

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS. Architect's luxury townhouse with all amenities. Available furnished from Summer 1973 for one year. Excellent schools, transportation, shopping. Smith, 28 Schermerhorn, Brooklyn, NY 11201

WASHINGTON, D. C. furnished home for rent June-August. Six rooms, bath, kitchen. Pleasant neighborhood, good commuting. $275 plus utilities. New Republic Box 6535

HUNTER MOUNTAIN, NEW YORK Elegant, secluded chalets for sale. 212-867-7720

PLAN YOUR VACATIONS, retirement in our developing liberal cooperative community in North-Central Arkansas. Beautiful lots, large lake nearby. Tumbling Shoals Estates, P.O. Drawer 268, Naperville, Illinois 60540.

OXFORD ENGLAND Academic year '73-'74 fully furnished house for rent 3½ bedrooms $250 monthly write Stone, 71 College Road West, Princeton, N.J. 08540 or call (609) 921-2717

LARGE HOUSE, yard, maid, near Manhattan, July-August, reasonable, (212) 693-5706

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U.S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D. C. 20036.

Vacations/Travel

TROLLHAUGEN, NEWFANE, VERMONT 05345, (802) 365-7635. Fully equipped vacation apartments $65-$120 weekly. 70 acres fields, hills, brooks.

BAHAMAS BUDGET: Equipped cottages on shore from $25.00, Winter. Sea Raiders, CURRENT, Eleuthera, Bahamas.

BIKE ACROSS ITALY $175. 720 S. 43rd St., Boulder, Co. 80303

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 635 Sutter Street.

Arts and Crafts

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

Music

LUTES, RECORDERS, Krummhorns, Viols, Historical Instruments, Brasstown, N.C. 28902.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Maryland.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion)	60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year	55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year	50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year	45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year	40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

The 12 winners of the 1973 NBA.

ARTS AND LETTERS
ARTHUR M. WILSON
Diderot
Oxford University Press

BIOGRAPHY
JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER
George Washington:
Anguish and Farewell
(1793-1799)
Little, Brown and Company

CHILDREN'S BOOKS
URSULA LE GUIN
The Farthest Shore
(Illustrated by Gail Garraty)
Atheneum

CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS
FRANCES FITZGERALD
Fire in the Lake:
The Vietnamese and the
Americans in Vietnam
Atlantic-Little, Brown

FICTION
JOHN BARTH
Chimera
Random House

JOHN WILLIAMS
Augustus
The Viking Press

HISTORY
ROBERT M. MYERS
The Children of Pride
Yale University Press

ISAIAH TRUNK
Judenrat
Macmillan

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION
SYDNEY E. AHLSTROM
A Religious History
of the American People
Yale University Press

POETRY
A. R. AMMONS
Collected Poems: 1951-1971
W. W. Norton & Company

THE SCIENCES
GEORGE B. SCHALLER
The Serengeti Lion:
A Study of
Predator-Prey Relations
University of Chicago Press

TRANSLATION
ALLEN MANDELBAUM
The Aeneid of Virgil
University of California Press

THE 24th ANNUAL NATIONAL BOOK AWARDS

The National Book Committee, a non-profit membership corporation, administers the Book Awards Programs on behalf of four donor organizations: the American Booksellers Association, the Association of American Publishers, the Children's Book Council, and the National Association of College Stores.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED